THE
Life and Reign
OF
KING
RICHARD
THE SECOND.

By a Person of Quality.

LONDON:
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Tr. R. H851L

TO THE READERS.

Gentlemen,

YOU *are here presented with the* Life *and* Reign *of a Prince whose* Misfortunes *render his Story perhaps as* Remarkable *as any in our* English Annals. *Concerning which I shall only assure you, that the* Compiler (*for he as little* affects, *as deserves the* Title *of an* Author) *has made it his Business truly to set down naked* Matters of Fact *as he finds them Related by the* best Authors, *without obtruding his own* Fancies *or* Dreams *under the Notion of* History. *Which that it may more evidently appear, he thinks fit to give you an Account of* Two *of the* Authors *whom he hath principally followed; Because* One *of them living in* that very time, *and the* other *either then, or not long after, they may rationally be supposed to have the most* certain knowledge *of those* Transactions.

The first is **Henricus Knighton**, *whose work* De Eventibus Angliæ, *in* Latin, *is Printed amongst divers other ancient* Histories *in that large and accurate* Collection, *Intituled,*

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tituled, Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem: *First brought into Publick Light from* Authentick Manuscripts, *by those two learned* Antiquaries, *Sir* Roger Twysden *Knight and Baronet, and the Famous* John Selden *Esquire, (who both prefixt their* Epistles *thereunto.) Nor was that* Miraculous Treasury of all solid Learning, *the most Reverend* **Usher** *Primate of* Armaugh, *wanting in Advising and Promoting that* Edition.

The Great **Selden** *in his* Preface, Fol. 46. *tells us, That this* **Knighton** *was a* Canon *of the Abbey of* Leicester, *and that he* flourisht *in the time of this King* Richard *the Second, the most part of whose Reign he wrote, deducing his* History *from* **William** *the* Conquerour, *until within Four years before the* Deposition *of the said King* Richard, viz. *To the year* 1395. *At which time we may suppose that* Author *was himself snatcht away by Death, or disabled by some* Disease, *for else he would not so abruptly have discontinued his* Book. *Which Conjecture is confirmed by what Sir* Roger Twysden *in his* Epistle *tells us, That in the* Manuscript *in the Renowned* **Cotton**'s Library, (*which he conceives to be the very* Autographon, *or Original Handwriting of the* Author, *and from which the same was exactly Printed*) *there is in the* first Page *an* Inscription, *Intituled*, Lamentum.

tum Compilatoris, **The Compilers Complaint**, *beginning thus*;

Sum Cæcus factus ſubitâ Caligine tactus.
Blind I am grown, with ſudden darkneſs ſtruck.

And thus concluding:

Me Deus alliſit, cum vult ſanare, valebit.
In Domino ſemper ſtat quod relevabitur Æger.
Smitten I am by God, who when he pleaſe
Can help me, and alone cure each Diſeaſe.

——And ſo much for **Knighton.**

The other is **Thomas Walſingham,** *a* Benedictine Monk *belonging to the* Abbey *of S.* Albans; *who for ought appears might likewiſe live in King* Richard*'s days, for he is ſaid to have* flouriſht, *that is, to be grown famous by his Labours, about the year* 1440. *And* Leland *gives this Character of him,* In Hiſtoriis Colligendis ſtudioſus atque diligens, *that he was a Perſon very ſtudious and diligent in Collecting or Compiling of Hiſtories. His Hiſtory (herein made uſe of) begins,* An. Dom. 1273, *and ends* Anno 1422.

To theſe cheifly is the preſent work Indebted, and in moſt material paſſages, *they are Cited, and their* very words *ſtrictly Tranſlated, yet ſtill not omitting to conſult other the*

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moſt

moſt credible Hiſtorians that have wrote of thoſe times.

And as for the Proceſs *touching the* Depoſition *of King* Richard, the Articles *againſt him*, &c. *The ſame are punctually* Tranſlated *from the words of the* Record, *as the ſame* (Examined *and atteſted*) *are Printed in the ſaid Volum called*, Hiſt. Anglicanæ Scriptores decem, *from* Col. 2743. *to* Col. 2762.

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THE

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Life and Reign
OF
KING RICHARD
The Second.

KIng *Richard* the Second was born at *Burdeaux* in *France*, in the Year 1366. His Father was that Renowned Hero *Edward*, commonly called *The Black Prince*, eldest Son of the Great and Victorious King, *Edward the Third*, His Mother *Joan* Daughter of the Earl of *Kent*, for her exquisite Beauty, styled, *The fair Maid of Kent*. And if he were so unhappy, as not altogether to Inherit his Grandfathers *Prudence*, and his Fathers *Spirit and Conduct*, yet it cannot be denied but he retained something of his Mothers *Handsomness*, being celebrated for the *goodliest Personage*, and most *amiable Countenance* of any King that had been before him since the Conquest.

His Father, after he had filled both *France* and *Spain* with terrible Trophies of his *Valour*, (having taken the King of the *former Priſoner*, and in the *latter* generouſly by his Arms reſtored *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, when injuriouſly driven out of thoſe *Realms* by the *Arragonians* and *French*) was in the Forty ſixth year of his Age, ſnatcht away by death (ſome ſay haſtened by *Poyſon*) during the Life of his Father King *Edward*; who having then *three other Sons* ſtill ſurviving, *viz. John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Edmund* of *Langley* afterwards Earl of *Cambridge*, and Duke of *York*; and *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, afterwards Duke of *Glouceſter*: For preventing any Quarrels after his own deceaſe, and all *Pretenſions* which any of them might make to the Crown, to the prejudice of his Grandchild, (this our Prince *Richard*, to whom as Son of the eldeſt Brother it was adjudged to belong:) He reſolves to ſee his Right declared and ſettled in *Parliament*; Creating likewiſe the ſaid *Richard* firſt Earl of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall*, and then *Prince of Wales*; and taking an *Oath* of all the *Lords* of the *Realm* to accept him for their *King* as his lawful *Heir*, when ever himſelf ſhould expire.

Being thus put into the immediate Proſpect of a *Crown*, the *over-burdenſom Glory* came *too faſt* upon his *tender head*, for *King Edward* having overliv'd his *Fortune*, and the better part of himſelf, his Conqueſts abroad being daily raviſht back, and *Alice Price* his Concubine ſhamefully ruling both Him and moſt Affairs at home, oppreſſed with *Grief* and *Age*, (though ſome ſay much more debilitated by the Careſſes of that *petulant Strumpet*) reſign'd

resign'd his last Breath at *Richmond*, the One and twentieth of *June*, *Anno Dom.* 1377, in the Sixty fourth Year of his Age, having Reigned Fifty Years, four Months, and odd Days.

Upon the first notice of his Death, the City of *London* sent *Deputies* to Prince *Richard*, (who with the Princess his Mother lay then at *Kingstone*) to acknowledge him their lawfull Sovereign, and request that he would please to honour them with his Presence and nearer Residence: Which Message was kindly received, and the *young King* soon after came to his Palace at *Westminster*, and on the Sixteenth day of *July* was solemnly Crowned; the Citizens sparing no Cost to express their *Loyalty* and *zealous Affection* to his Person, both in his Passage through the Town, and at his Coronation; As by several *Triumphant Arches*, Conduits running with *Wine*, and all other Demonstrations of a transporting Joy; Insomuch that by some of the *Nobility* he was Ironically called *The Londoner's King*.

His tender Age (being at his Grandfathers Death but eleven years old) required some *Protector*, or *chief Managers* of *Publick Affairs*, but to whom to commit so weighty a *Trust*, is the Difficulty: If to *One*, *Ambition* joyned with *Power*, may tempt to *Usurpation*; Nor wanted they a Precedent at home, whilst they remembred how King *John* justled out his Nephew *Prince Arthur*. If to *several*, then it might be feared, that different private *Interests*, Factions, and By-ends, (from which scarce any of the *Grandees* were free) might intangle or retard their Proceedings, so as to obstruct their acting unanimously and

chearfully for the Publick Weal: At last hoping to please all Pretenders, and considering that from a multitude of Councellors most safety might be expected; They intrusted first the Kings *Three Uncles*; but *Lancaster*, whether discontented to have any *Partners*, or that he cared not much to intermeddle, because he had contracted both the Enmity of the *Clergy*, and the dissatisfaction of the *Londoners*: Or whether having a pretence to the Crown of *Castile*, by the Marriage of *Constance* Daughter of the before-mentioned King *Peter*, that he might better pursue his Claim thereunto, warily withdrawing himself from that Charge; several other Lords both *Spiritual* and *Temporal* were added, till at last being found *too many*, the same was Conferr'd wholly upon the Earl of *Warwick*, who discharged the Office with good satisfaction.

The *Scotch* and *French* promising themselves Advantages from the Kings Minority, began to make Attempts upon his Territories, almost before he was in possession of the Crown. The *first* surprized the Castle of *Berwick*, the *second* the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt and pillag'd several Towns and Villages on the Coasts, but were both quickly repuls'd and beaten out again.

About two Months after the Coronation, a Parliament is called, which sate from *Michaelmas* to S. *Andrew*'s Day, and Banished *Alice Price*, King *Edward*'s *Mistress*; for that whereas formerly being complained of as a *Grievance* in Parliament, she had sworn never to come again into the Kings *Court* or *Presence*, (which the King had likewise confirmed with his Oath) yet after the

the death of the *Black Prince*, she had returned and misgovern'd the King, presuming to sit in judicial Courts, and by her Presence and Influence to wrest *Justice*, and in his sickness flattered him with hopes of Life, so that he neglected making Provision for his Soul, till he was quite *speechless*, whilst she in the mean time purloyned away the choicest things in the Palace, and stole even the very *Rings* off his Fingers, and then (like a *Right Harlot*) left him gasping for Life, and unable to speak one word, in the Company only of one poor Priest. My Author says, when she came now to be questioned, she had with *Money* corrupted many of the *Lords*, and *all the Lawyers of England*, who did not only secretly but publickly plead and use all their Interest in her behalf; yet she was so vigorously prosecuted by the Knights in Parliament, that being by her own Mouth Convicted, she was *Banisht* the Land, and all her Estate moveable and immoveable, forfeited to the *Exchequer*; from whence by the late Kings Favour, or rather *Dotage*, it had unduly been obtain'd.

There was also by this Parliament given to the King *Two Tenths* of the Clergy, and *Two Fifteenths* of the *Temporalty*, to be paid the same year; but on this Condition, *viz.* That the King for the future should not burden them with more Requests of that kind, to draw away his Subjects Money, but would live on his *Demeasns*, and continue his War; for that (as it was there answer'd) His proper *Royal Revenues* were *sufficient* both to maintain his *Court*, and carry on his *Wars*, if the same were but manag'd by *fit* and

truſty Miniſters: And therefore it was agreed, that this Money ſo given, ſhould as it was raiſed, be depoſited in the hands of *two Citizens* of *London*, *William Waller*, and *John Philpot*, who were to ſee it beſtow'd for the Defence of the Realm.

[1378.] This *John Philpot* was an *Alderman* of *London*, a Perſon of no leſs *Courage* than *Prudence*, as appears by the following Exploit: Sometime after the *Parliament* broke up, and the Money collected; the Duke of *Lancaſter* (to whom nothing almoſt could be denied) was very Importunate to have the ſame delivered to his Diſpoſe, promiſing therewith to free the Nation from all *Invaſions* and *Pyracies*, wherewith it was lamentably infeſted, and to perform other very advantageous Services for the Publick: Whereupon he obtained an Order for the ſame, notwithſtanding the *Proviſo* in the Act, ſo impoſſible it is *de facto* to bind up the Hands of *Power*: But though ſome *Naval Preparations* were made, yet little was effected to repel or prevent thoſe Injuries and Depredations, which the Nation ſuffered by Sea from the *French* on the one ſide, and the *Scottiſh Pickaroons* on the other; ſo that by the common neglect of ſecuring the Coaſts, and ſcowring the Seas, our *Merchants* durſt not Traffick abroad for fear of *Pyrates*, who hovered in every Corner, but eſpecially of one *Mercer*, a bold and potent *Scottiſh Rover*, who having drawn together a conſiderable Fleet of *French*, *Scots* and *Spaniards*, daily committed inſufferable Outrages, ſpoiling all they met: Hereupon the ſaid *Alderman Philpot* firſt complained of theſe *Grievances* to the *Kings Council*, humbly Remonſtrating the Damages ſuſtained,

and

and imploring *Redreſs*; But receiving from them only fair *Promiſes*, and no *Relief*, full of *grief* and *diſdain*, to ſee his Country-men thus devoured by thoſe inſolent *Water-vermin*; He at length Provided, Victualled, and Man'd forth at his *own proper Coſts and Charges*, a competent Fleet of tall Ships, himſelf in *perſon*, putting forth with them to Sea, where he ſoon encountred the Pyrates, *took* the ſaid *Mercer*, deſtroyed his Ships, and recovered moſt of the Prizes formerly taken, with Fifteen *Spaniſh Bottoms* well fraught with Riches, beſides many *French* and *Scottiſh* Ships, and ſo return'd with *Triumph* and the general *Acclamations* of the People: But *Envy* is always the Attendant of extraordinary *Vertue*, inſtead of Thanks or Reward, ſeveral of the *Nobles* from whom he ſeemed to have ſnatcht by this his fortunate Attempt, the Glory of that Service, which their Country juſtly, though in vain expected from them, paſſed harſh Cenſures on his forwardneſs; and particularly the Earl of *Stafford* called him in queſtion at the *Council-Table*, for preſuming (being but a private man) for to levy Arms, and equip a Fleet without Authority: But *Philpot* with a *prudent Gallantry*, compoſed of an undaunted Innocency, and an humble Merit, gave ſuch a juſtifiable Account of the Act, as ſatisfied the *Board*, or at leaſt ſilenc'd his Accuſers: For thus in particular to that Lord, he is ſaid to have anſwered, *I would have your Honour undoubtedly know, that I did not adventure my Money, my Perſon, and my Men to the dangers of the Sea, and hazards of War, with any deſign to Rob your Lordſhip, and your Collegues, of the Glory of Chivalry, or Fame of Military Atchieve-*

ments and gain it to my self. But condoling the losses of my fellow Citizens, and misery of my Country which by your sloth from a most noble Kingdom, giving Laws to all her Neighbours, is sunk into so deplored a state as to ly open to the Insolencies and Pillagings of the vilest of Nations and men, whilst yet not one of you lent a hand to her defence, I freely exposed my self and mine for her deliverance, and the publick safety, to which the Earl had nothing to reply.

About the same time, *viz.* in the Second Year of the King, there happened a Fray which (not so much for the importance of the Quarrel, as a *rare Example* of Fidelity and honesty attending it) I cannot but Relate; Though even the thing it self in those ignorantly zealous times, wanted not its ill Influence on the *Publick*, and the *Monkish Historians* cry out about it as Tragically, as if Heaven and Earth were ingag'd, all Christianity at Stake, and the Pillars of Religion in danger. The business thus; Two valiant Squires, *Robert Haule*, and *John Schakel*, in the late Wars in *Spain* under Prince *Edward*, chanc'd to take the *Count de Dena*, a *Spanish Don* of great Quality and Estate, who was fairly by the Law of Arms adjudg'd their Prisoner, and brought into *England*, where he left his Eldest Son with them as a Pledge, whilst he went home to raise his ransome, the Son swearing to continue with them till it came; but the Father being got into *Spain*, never regarded to send the Money, but in little time *dies*, whereby the Honour and Estate devolves to the *Young Hostage*; which being understood by King *Edward*, (for in his days happened this first part of the Story) both he and Prince

Prince *Edward*'s Son, were very importunate with these two Gentlemen, to release the *Spanish Cavaleir*, which they desired either in favour to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who thought by the help of this Nobleman to faciliate his pretentions to the Crown of *Castile*, or else with an intent to Match him to *Mathilda* Relict of the Lord *Courtney*, the Kings Sister; but no matter what their Design was, the Squires were so far from parting with him, that they would not discover where he was, and so were sent to the *Tower*, whence making their escape they took *Sanctuary* in *Westminster Abbey*, and there continued, till now the Duke of *Lancaster* resolved to ferret them out, to which purpose Fifty men at Arms were sent thither, who entring the *Sanctuary*, put a trick upon *John Schakel*, and soon got him out and hurried him to the *Tower*; but as for *Haule*, he was more strongly *Ensconc'd* in the Church amongst the *Monks*, and at *Mass*, however thither they went, and after a little expostulation why he would so refractorily disobey the Kings Command, when even Majesty had condescended to a request? they tell him, he must go with them, which he peremtorily refuses, and draws a short Sword and makes at them; whereupon they resolve to force him away, who still making resistance, was at last knockt on the Head amongst them which our Author calls *Crown'd with Martyrdom*: the *Monks* would fain have rescued him, but durst not, because they saw the Souldiers *too strong* for them, however the Archbishop of *Canterbury* presently thundred out an *Excommunication* against these Violaters of the *Sanctuary* and all their abettors, the King and his Mother, and his Uncle

Lancaster

Lancaſter only excepted; And the *Biſhop* of *London* did the like for ſeveral days together, but about a Year after by the mediation of divers grave and venerable Perſons, the matter was compoſed on theſe terms; that the ſaid *Schakel*, who was ſo ſent to the *Tower*, ſhould diſcover and deliver up the ſaid *Count de Dena*, and ſo be ſet at liberty, upon conſideration, that the King ſhould ſettle upon him Lands, to the value of an *Hundred Marks per annum*, and pay him down Five hundred *Marks* ready Money, in lieu of the expected *Ranſom*, and alſo that his Majeſty for ſatisfaction to the Church, ſhould at his proper Charges erect a *Chauntry* of *Five Prieſts* for ever, to *pray for the Soul* of him whom his Officers had ſo ſlain, though one would have thought dying, in their Opinion, a Martyr, he might have had no great *need* of ſuch everlaſting *Oriſons*. But ſtill the more ſurprizing Intrigue of the *Tragedy* is behind, when *Schakel* came to produce his Captive, he ſhew'd them *his man* that waited on him; for the brave *Spaniard* had that regard to his Word which he had paſſed, that he ſcorn'd to diſcover himſelf without his leave, but on the contrary had all along both in the *Sanctuary*, and in the *Tower*, faithfully and ſubmiſſively ſerv'd him in diſguiſe, neglecting both his *Quality* and *Intereſt*, when they ſtood in competition with his *Honour*; a piece of *Gallantry* and *generous Honeſty*, ſcarce to be parallel'd in Story.

About the Feaſt of S. *Luke*, a *Parliament* was held at *Gloceſter*, with an intent as was thought to have alipp'd the Wings of the *Towering Churchmen*, but finding their Intereſt too ſtrong, nothing of that kind was offered, but for the *Kings* further ſupply,

ſupply, it was granted, that he ſhould have of the Merchants for every Sack of *Wool* Exported, a *Mark*, and for every Twenty ſhillings of Wares or Merchandizes whatſoever Imported from beyound the Seas, *Six pence*, to be paid by the *Buyer*.

[1379.] The next year another *Parliament* was called at *London*, where the Priviledges of the *Sanctuary* at *Weſtminſter* were regulated; for whereas before great numbers of Perſons when they were got in *Debt*, would ſhelter themſelves, and waſte in Revelling and Debauchery their Revenues, which could not be touched for their *juſt Debts*, to the grievous prejudice of their Creditors; it was now Ordained, That if upon Proclamation made, they ſhould not ſurrender themſelves, then their *Goods* ſhould be ſold and their *Lands* extended, wherever found, till their *Debts* ſatisfied. There was alſo a new *Tax* granted, but becauſe the Commons were already much impoveriſht, it was laid only on the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, by way of *Poll*; Viz. *Dukes* and *Archbiſhops*, Ten Marks apiece; every *Earl*, *Biſhop*, and *Mitred Abbot*, Six Marks, beſides each *Abbot* to pay Forty Pence *per* Head for all his *Monks*; and ſo *Juſtices*, *Sheriffs*, *Knights*, *Eſquires*, *Rectors*, *Vicars*, and even down to ſimple *Chaplains*, every one his *Allotment*.

This Summer there was a moſt *dreadful Peſtilence* in *England*, eſpecially in the *Northern parts*, inſomuch that whole Families were ſwept away. Nay Towns and Villages left without Inhabitants: During the Heat of which Calamity, the *Scots* took their Advantage to enter the *Land*, and committed great Spoils in ſmall Parties, but durſt not ſtay for fear of the Infection, and yet (as our Author relates)

relates) they had got a wonderful *Preſervative* againſt it: for asking ſome *Engliſh*, the reaſon of ſo great a Mortality amongſt them, and being told it came by *the Grace of God*, they therefore every Morning with great ſolemnity uſed this *Charm*, or (if any body will call it ſo) Prayer —*God* and *Saint Mango*, *Saint Roman*, and *Saint Andrew*, *ſhield us this day* from *God's Grace*, *and the foul Death that Engliſh men die upon.*

[1380.] The next Year in *Jan.* the *Parliament* was again Aſſembled at *London*, and continued till *March*, wherein to avoid unneceſſary Charge it was agreed, that the *Tutelage* of the King, ſhould be committed but to one, and by unanimous conſent, *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, was pitch'd upon for the Man, an Honourable allowance being aſſign'd to him out of the Royal *Exchequer* for his pains and care therein to be taken; but the Young King though a *Minor* as to the Publick Affairs, thought himſelf of Age ſufficient at leaſt to conduct himſelf in his private and perſonal concerns; for though for want of ripening experience; his Wiſdom had not time to Bud, yet his *Will* was grown to full *Strength*: being already Plunged in the Gulf of pleaſure, and Vanities of Youth, he ſet himſelf to Promote ſuch as moſt pleaſed him with *Flatteries*, rather than ſuch as were truly qualified to ſerve him with ſolid Council and able conduct; whence aroſe Three *fatal miſchiefs*: for Firſt, his Affairs were indiſcreetly managed, and without ſucceſs, by reaſon unfit Miniſters were imploy'd about them, Secondly, debauchery was increaſed, Firſt, in the *Court*, and next throughout the Kingdom; for many of the *Young Nobility*, obſerving

obſerving the ſecret *favours* and *diſtaſtes* of the King, ſtudying in all things to gratifie his pleaſure, gave up themſelves to diſſolute and *diſhonourable* courſes; which *ill precedents* deſcended like an Infection amongſt the Gentry and Commonalty; for *Vice* always finds too many followers, even when it hath no incouragers, but much more doth it increaſe, when fluſht with *Great Examples*, and made the *Scale* of perferment. And laſtly the King by thus miſplaceing his favours impaired the *Venera-tion* due to Majeſty, became *Cheap* in the Eyes of his Subjects, and leſs reſpected, for it is almoſt as dangerous to a Prince to have evil and *deſpiſed Favourites* and Adherents, as to be evil or deſpicable himſelf. In this Parliament was granted a Tenth from the *Clergy* and a Fifteenth from the *Laiety*, but on condition, that from thence, which was *March* 1380. to *Michaelmas* 1381. there ſhould be no more Parliaments; that is, no more Money rais'd.

This Summer the King and Council ſent a ſtrong *Army* to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaigne*, under the Command of his Unckle *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Sir *Thomas Peircy*, &c. who landing at *Calice*, forced their paſſage through the Body of *France*, leading their *Troops* to and fro, and laying the Countrey waſte at their pleaſure, without any reſiſtance, till they came to the Borders of *Bretaign*, where they were joyfully received, but the very *Terror* of their March, had diſpoſed the *French* to an accomodation, ſo that they made peace with the Duke of *Bretaign*, whereupon our Army without any other advantages, but thoſe of *Renown* and Glory returned home.

Notwithſtanding it was agreed in the laſt Parliament

ment to the contrary, yet by the too great prevalency of ſome Counſellors, a *Parliament* againſt the will and conſent of almoſt all the *Great Men* of the Land, was this ſame Year about the Feaſt of S. *Martin*, (which is *Novemb.* 10th) Conven'd at *Northampton*, a place moſt unfit for ſuch an *Aſſembly*, as well for that it was *Winter*, and ſcarce any Fewel for *Firing* there to be procured; as alſo becauſe it afforded not *Lodgings* enow to entertain thoſe that ſhould have reſorted thither: but perhaps ſo much the *more fit* for the deſign of the *ſmall Politicians*; for here they got paſt a very *ſevere Tax*, or *Poll bill*. Whereby every *Prieſt*, *Secular* or *Religious*, was to pay a *Noble*, and every *Nun* as much, and every Man and Woman, Married or unmarried, being of the age of Sixteen years, *Twelve Pence*, (Beggars onely excepted) the paying whereof was eſteem'd very grievous by the People, eſpecially of the poorer ſort. And that which aggravated their miſery, was, that when it came into the *Exchequer*, it was ſo handled by thoſe imploied about it, that it amounted not to ſo much as ſome former *Taxes*, which were given in leſs proportion: whereupon ſome of the *Kings Miniſters* complained that it had not been duly Collected; and one *John Legg*, and three of his Aſſociates, obtained a Commiſſion to inſpect and review the Levy, bargaining to give the *King* a great Sum of Money for the ſame: But indeed on that pretence committing horrible *Oppreſſions*, *Exactions*, and *Inſolencies* in divers parts, eſpecially in *Kent*, *Norfolk*, and the adjacent Counties.

Hence immediately after, *viz.* In the Spring of the Year 1381, aroſe one of the moſt formidable

and

and mischievous *Insurrections* that had been heard of almost in any Age; the old *Bellum servile* of the *Romans* was acted in *England*, but with greater Impudence and mischief; the *Slaves* are in Arms, and the very *Dregs* of the people will be Lords and Masters. The true *Causes* or *Occasions* of this unexpected Confusion are very differently related, some *Monkish Historians* (followed, blindfold by some later Authors) out of hatred to *Wickliffe* and his *Tenets*, (which now began to be much disseminated, and of which we shall by and by give a further account) attributed it chiefly to his *Doctrine*: for 'tis an ordinary thing to proclaim all Evils, concurring with any Attempts of Reformation in Religion, to be proper *fruits* thereof; as the *Heathens* of old imputed all their Calamities to the then new and rising Sect of the *Christians*: But as we find nothing in that good mans real Positions (for several of his *Works* are yet extant) to foment such a lewd Rebellion; so neither do the more impartial Authors of that Age lay it at his Door: though 'tis agreed, one *Ball* a factious Clergy-man was an Incendiary of that Combustion, which seems in its Original ascribable to the natural desire of *Liberty*, and pride of Humane Nature, impatient of Superiority, since the *Villains* or *Bondmen* were chief in the Tumult; and partly to the heavy *Taxes* and *Insolencies* of the Collectors, and especially of these New Farmers of the Subsidy, or Commissioners, which exasperated the common people into a Mutiny. But whatever were the *Provocations*, dismal were the *Effects*, and might have prov'd fatal to the utter ruine of the Kingdom, had not the Providence of God wonderfully prevented it. Nor

Nor is it leſs diſputable where the Uproar began, ſome ſay in *Eſſex*, ſome in *Kent*; for the *Flame* wvs ſo ſuddenly ſpread into divers places, that they could ſcarce tell where the *Fire* broke forth, and who firſt headed them, is alſo uncertain; ſome ſpeak of one *Thomas* a Baker of *Fobhyngges*; others of *Walter Tyler* at *Deptford* in *Kent*, to be the Ringleader: but the moſt received Tradition is thus. That one of the ſaid Collectors of Poll-money, coming to the houſe of the ſaid *Tyler* (ſo called from his Trade) and requiring of his Wife to pay for a Daughter of hers, whom ſhe affirmed was not of age to pay, the rude Fellow told her, he would preſently ſee whether ſhe were ſo or not, and forceably turn'd up her Coats, whereupon the Mother made ſuch an Out-cry, that her Husband being at work hard by, heard her, and came running with his *Lathing Staff* in his hand, wherewith he beat out the Collectors Brains, and knowing that for the ſame he muſt be hang'd, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by greater Crimes, drawing together the Rabble, and incenſing them, (who of themſelves were but too ready) unto a *Rebellion*: Thus Multitudes flockt together, broke open the Goal at *Maidſtone*, where the before-mentioned *Ball* the Prieſt was then a Priſoner, who having gain'd his Liberty, marched along with them; and they growing ſtill more numerous, (ſome write an Hundred thouſand ſtrong) came to *Blackheath*, where he made a ſeditious Preachment to them, taking for his Text or Theme the old Proverb;

When Adam *Delv'd, and Eve Span,*
Who was then a Gentleman?

From thence telling them, "That by Deſcent "from *Adam*, all men were of one Condition; "That the *Laws* of the *Realm* were injurious to "*Chriſtian Liberty*, and unjuſt by making ſuch "difference of mens Eſtates, preferring ſome to "be *Peers* and *Potentates*, with great *Authority* "and large *Poſſeſſions*, whereby they took advan- "tage of the humble plyable Condition of others, "to keep them in ſlavery, hardly affording them "Suſtenance; whereas there ought to be an equal "ſharing of all things, and that in common, *&c.*

This *Doctrine* was extreamly pleaſing to theſe *Raggamuffins*, who animated thus with Multitudes, and holding Correſpondence with others as mad as themſelves in other Counties, they Arreſted all *Strangers* that they met with, making them ſwear *to be true to King* Richard, *and to the Commons, and never to own any King that ſhould be called* John: which they did out of ſpight to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, againſt whom they had an implacable Malice. They likewiſe beheaded all *Lawyers* they could catch, ſaying, Till they were rooted out, the Land would never enjoy free liberty.

At *Black-heath* they ſent for the King to hear their Grievances, but the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* and the *Lord Treaſurer*, diſſwaded him from venturing his *Royal Perſon* amongſt them, which being underſtood by the *Commons*, they were thereupon more enraged againſt thoſe two, calling them *Traytors*; and to be revenged immediately

diately march towards *London*; in *Southwark* they discharge all Prisoners, and when the *Mayor* of *London* would have pull'd up the Draw-bridge, and shut the Gates against them, the Rabble of the City would not suffer him, so that all that Night they came in and out at their pleasure, being the more favoured, because hitherto they spoiled no man, but honestly paid for all they had, saying, They came not as Robbers, but to bring Malefactors to justice. The *King* to prevent Mischief, sent them word to meet Him at *Mile-end*, where he would hear their Complaints, and part of them accordingly went thither, where the King gave them a *Charter* under the Great Seal of *England*, That thenceforth all the Men of *England* should be free, and discharged from the Tenour of *Villenage*, and all Bondage of that kind. The Tenour of which *Charter* of *Manumission*, as it was given to them, and within few days sent into several Counties, was as follows.

RICHARD, By the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all his Bailiffs and faithfull Subjects to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting, know yee, that of our special Grace, we have Manumiss'd or set free all and singular our Liege Subjects, and other of the County of E. and them and every of them from all Bondage do Release and Acquit by these Presents. And also we pardon

don to our said Liege-men and Subjects, all manner of Felonies, Treasons, Transgressions, and Extortions, by them or any of them, in any manner whatsoever done or committed; And also all and every Outlawry or Outlawries, if any be or shall be Published against them, or any of them, for or by occasion of the Premisses; and do thereof to them and every of them grant Our highest Peace: In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent: Witness Our self at London, the Fifteenth of June, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

Upon this Concession, most of the *Essex-men* that met at *Mile-end* went home; but while this was doing, others that staid behind in *London*, enter'd the *Tower*, and dragg'd out thence *Hen.* Earl of *Derby* the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Son, and but a youth; *Simon* of *Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*; *Robert Hales* Prior of the Hospital, and Treasurer of *England*; he the before-mentioned *John Legg*, and and *John* a Minorite, being a Crony of *Lancaster*'s and 3 others, all which 7 last they forthwith Beheaded, carrying their Heads on Poles, as in Triumph: And now being heated with both Wine and Blood, they march to the *Savoy*, and burn the Duke of *Lancaster*'s stately Palace, (the best House in *England*) with all its *rich Furniture* to Ashes, breaking in pieces all his

Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, and flinging them into the *Thames*, and when one of their Fellows was ſpy'd to thruſt a piece of Plate into his Boſom, they preſently flung *it* and *him* into the *fire* to be deſtroy'd together, ſaying, They came not like *Thieves* to enrich themſelves. But of Liquors they were not ſo ſcrupulous; for two and thirty of them being got into the *Dukes* Wine-Cellar, Tippled ſo long till the Rafters of the Houſe on fire, fell down, and ſtopt the paſſage, that they could not get out, but were heard to cry ſeven days after, and ſo periſhed. From the *Savoy* they came back to the *Temple*, and burnt the *Lawyers* Lodgings, Books, Papers, and all Records they could meet with: The houſe of S. *John*'s by *Smithfield*, they ſet fire to, ſo that it burnt ſeven days; Nor had they any regard to *Churches*, but forc'd out ſuch as fled thither for Sanctuary, and Beheaded them, for they uſed no other manner of Execution to high or low.

That Night wearied with ſpoil, and generally Drunk, they lay ſleeping like Swine in the open Streets and under the *Walls*: and the next day being routed together again, the King with a ſmall Guard coming to *Smithfield*, offered a Pardon to all ſuch as yet after all theſe Outrages would ceaſe from the like for the future, and go quickly home. Whereupon *Wat Tyler* declared, That he was for Peace very willingly, provided it were on ſuch Terms as he ſhould approve of: Therefore to underſtand what he would have, one Sir *John Newton* is ſent to Invite and deſire (for ſo they were glad in that Juncture of Affairs to compliment his Sawcineſs) *Wat* to come and Treat thereof with the King;

King; and when the Knight urged him to make haſte, he anſwered with ſome Indignation; *If thou art in ſuch haſte, go back to thy Maſter the King; I'le come when I ſee mine own time.* However he ſoon followed him on Horſe back, but ſlowly for the greater State, and being come near the *King*, the ſame Knight was commanded to go to him, and receive and bring back his Propoſals. *Tyler* offended, becauſe this Meſſenger came to him mounted, told him it became him to alight from his Horſe in his Preſence; and therewith drew out his Dagger to ſtrike him: But the *King* to pacifie him, made him alight. The *Demands* which *Tyler* made, beſides a general Enfranchiſement of the Bond men, (which the *King* had already granted) were, That all *Warrens*, *Parks*, and *Chaſes*, ſhould be made common and free to all, ſo that as well the Poor as the Rich, ſhould have liberty to Fiſh, Fowl, and Hunt in all places throughout the Kingdom, with ſeveral other the like extravagant Demands: In which *Tyler* behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that the *Kings* Attendants could not but repreſent to his Majeſty that it was inſufferable, and the before celebrated *John Philpot*, according to his uſual Courage, told the *King*, That if his *Majeſty* would but command his Lieutenant; *viz.* The *Mayor* to Arreſt the *Traytor*, he would loſe his Life if it were not happily accompliſht; Whereupon the *King* was prevailed with to give ſuch a Command, or rather leave to *William Walworth*, then *Mayor* of *London*, who waiting an Opportunity, and obſerving *Tyler* to play with his Dagger, toſſing it from hand to hand, as if he meant ſome miſchief, and that at laſt (to what intent is not known, whether out of rude

neſs, or deſign) he laid one of his hands upon the *Kings* Bridle, fearing the *Ruffian* might attempt his *Royal Perſon*, inſtantly executed his Arreſt, by giving him a Blow on his Head with a Dagger; which was ſeconded with *Philpot*'s Sword and anothers in his Body, ſo that immediately he fell down dead on the ground: When the Rabble ſaw this, they began furiouſly to cry out, *O our Captain is ſlain, our Captain is murdered: Let's revenge the Death of our Captain, &c.* But the *King* with a Courage and Ingenuity beyond any thing could be expected from his Years, (for he was not yet above Fifteen) Clapt Spurs to his Horſe and rod to the Head of them, crying aloud, *What mean you my Men? Or what do you do? Will you ſhoot your King? You ſhall have no cauſe to grieve for the Death of that Traytor and Ribauld; I that am the King, will be your Captain and your Leader: Follow me into the Field, and you ſhall have whatever you will?*

Upon which words, amaz'd, and not certainly reſolv'd either of one anothers minds, nor indeed each man of his own, they followed awhile, till Sir *Richard Knolls*, with a Thouſand armed men raiſed in the mean time by the *Mayor*, came upon them out of the City, at whoſe approach (being now headleſs, and all in confuſion) they were ſo terrifi'd, that they forthwith flung down what Arms they had, and begg'd for Mercy; which the *King* granted, and withal gave them a *Charter* of Freedom in form as before recited; but proclaim'd, that no Citizen ſhould have any Correſpondence with any of them, nor ſuffer them to come within the Liberties: And ſo this dreadful rout from the height of Inſolence was in a moment ſcattered and

reduced

reduced to the depth of misery and fear, sneaking back by stealth into the Country: many in their passage slain or perishing for want, and multitudes of them soon after Executed.

For this good Service, the King upon the place conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the said *John Walworth* Mayor, and *John Philpot*, as likewise on *Nichol. Brembre*, *John Land*, and *Nicholas Twyford*, Citizens of *London*. And in memory of so Honourable an Exploit, perform'd by the Mayor, the Dagger hath ('tis said) ever since that time been added in the City-Arms, which before bore only the Cross.

But though things were thus appeas'd at *London*, there was still no less Hurley-burley in several Counties: At St. *Albans* they committed many Out-rages, and Cancell'd the Ancient Charter of the *Abbot* and *Monks*. In *Suffolk* there were swarm'd together Fifty thousand *Villains*, under the Conduct of one *John Straw*, a lewd *Priest*, who beheaded Sir *John Cavendish*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and set his Head on the Pillory in S. *Edmundsbury*. The like Commotions also there were at the same time in *Norfolk*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the *Isle* of *Ely*, at the Instigation of one *Littester*, a Dyer, who called himself King of the Commons, and forc'd several Lords, and Persons of Quality to be sworn to them, and ride along with them to countenance their Proceedings; but these were for the most part subdu'd and dispers'd, by the active valour of *Hugh Spenser* Bishop of *Norwich*, who gathering an Army together, set upon the Rebels with incredible fury, pursuing them from place to place, and giving no Quarter to any of them.

It is to be noted, That these Rebels in several Shires held correspondence, and their Leaders sent abroad their Epistles of Advice, and encouragement; some of which (as they were afterwards taken and own'd) I shall insert, for the Readers diversion: that he may admire the style of these popular *Orators*, and observe what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sense.

A LETTER of *John Ball* to the COMMONS in *Essex*.

IOhn Sheep sometime S. Mary Priest of York, and now of Colchester, Gretheth well John Nameless, and John the Miller and John Charter, and biddeth them beware of Guil in Bozough, and stand together in Gods Name, and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his werk, and Chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his Fellows, and no mo. John the Miller hath yground small, small, small: The Kings Son of heven shall pay for all. Beware, or ye be wo; know your Frende fro your Foe, have ynough, and say Ho, and do well and better, and flee sinne, and seek peace, and hold you therein: And so biddeth John Trewman, and all his Fellows.

Ano-

Another.

IOhn Ball gretyth you wele All, and doth you to underſtand, he hath rungen the Bell; Now ryght and myght, wyll and skyll, God ſpede every yæ dele. Now is time, Lady help to Jheſu the Sone, and thid Sone to his Fadur, to make a gode end, in the name of the Trinity, of that is begun: Amen, Amen, pur Charite, Amen.

Another.

IOhn Bell S. Mary Pryſt gretes wele all manner men, and byddes them in the Name of the Trinity, Fadur and Son and Holy Ghoſt, ſtond manlyche togedyr in trewthe, and helps trewthe, and trewthe ſhall helpe yowe: Now regneth Pryde in pryſe, and Covetous is hold wiſe; and Lechery without en ſhame, and Glotony without en blame. Envie regneth with treaſon, and ſlouthe is take in grete leſone. God do bote, for now is the time. Amen, in Eſex, Southfolc, and Northfolc.

Jack

Jack the Millers Epiſtle.

JAKK Mylner aſket help to turn his Mylne aright. He hath Grounden ſmall, ſmall, The Kings Son of Heven he ſhall pay for all. Lok thy Mylne do a right, with the four Sailes, and the Poſt ſtand in ſtedfaſtneſſe. With right and with might, with ſkill and with will, lat might help right, and ſkill go before will, and right before might, than goeth our Mylne aright. And if might go before right, and will before ſkill than is our Mylne myſadyght,

Jack the Carter's

JAKK Carter prayes yow all, that yæ make a gode end of that yæ have begunnen, and doth wele, and ay bettur and bettur, for at the even men heryth the day: for if the end be wele than is all wele. Lat Peres the Plowman my Brother duele at home, and dyght us Corn, and I will go with yow, and help that yæ may ſo dyght your mete and your drynk, that yæ none fayle. Lokke that Hobb Robbyoure be wele chaſtiſed for leſing of your Grace, for yæ have grete nede

nede to take God with yow in all yowr dedes, for now is time to beware.

Jack Trewman's Scroll.

JAkk Trewman doth yow to understand, that falseneſs and gile hath regned to long, and trewth hath bæn ſett under a Lokke, and falſneth and gile regneth in everylk Flokke. No man may come trewth to, both ſyng Si dedero, Speke, ſpend, and ſpæd quoth John of Bathon, and therefore ſinn fareth as wilde flode, trew love is a way that was ſo gode, and Clerks for welth wozth hem wo. God do bote, for nowze is time.

The *Storm* being thus happily over-blown, the Rebels ſuddenly maſter'd, and a competent Force raiſed to ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom, it was quickly thought fit to revenge ſuch an Affront, and bring the *Delinquents* to juſtice. In order to which, the King as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety to Himſelf and the Publick, revokes his former Charters of Manumiſſion and Pardon, by a *Proclamation* under His Great Seal, in theſe Terms.

RICHARD, *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland; *To all to whom theſe* Preſents *ſhall come, Greeting: Although in the late deteſtable Diſturbance, horribly made by divers*

divers of Our Liege People and Subjects rising up againſt Our Peace, certain Letters Patent of Ours were made at the importunate Inſtance of the Rebels, *containing,* **That** *We have freed all Our Leige People, Common Subjects, and others of the ſeveral Counties of Our Realm of* England, *and them, and every of them diſcharged and acquitted from all Bondage and Service.* **And alſo**, *That we have pardoned them all manner of Inſurrections by them againſt Us made, and all manner of* Treaſons, Felonies, Tranſgreſſions, *and* Extortions, *by them or any of them committed.* **As alſo**, *all* Outlawries *Publiſht againſt them, or any of them, on thoſe Occaſions; Or that we have granted to them and every of them Our firm Peace: And that Our Will was, That Our ſaid Liege People and Subjects ſhould be free to buy and Sell in all Cities, Burroughs, Towns, Markets, and other Places within the* Kingdom *of* England; *and that no Acre of Land which holds in Bondage or Villenage, ſhould be accounted higher than at Four Pence; And if any were before held for leſs, that it ſhould not be raiſed for the future.* **Yet** *for that ſuch Our Letters did Iſſue without Mature Deliberation, and unduly, We well weighing, that the Grant of the ſaid Letters, doth manifeſtly tend to the very great prejudice of Us and Our Crown,*

and

and to the Diſinheriſon *as well of us, and the Prelates and Nobility of Our ſaid Realms, as of the* Holy Anglicane Church, *and alſo the the* Damage *and* Incommodity *of the* Commonwealth. *Therefore by the Advice of Our* Council, *We have* Revoked, made void, *and do* utterly annul *the ſaid Letters, and whatever hath been done or follow'd thereupon, willing that none of what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, ſhall any way have or reap, or enjoy any liberty or benefit whatſoever, of or by the ſaid Letters. For We will, and 'tis our intention, by the Advice of Our ſound Council, for the future, to impart ſuch Grace and Favour to all and ſingular, although they have grievouſly forfeited their Allegiance, as ſhall be well-pleaſing and profitable to Our Realm, and with which Our faithful Subjects may reaſonably hold themſelves contented. And this we do notifie to all perſons concern'd, by theſe Preſents, Commanding the ſame to be Proclaimed in all Cities and Towns, Villages, &c. And further We ſtrictly require and command, That all and ſingular as well Free as Bond-men, ſhall without any contradiction, murmuring, reſiſtance or difficulty, do and perform the Works, Cuſtoms, and Services, which to us or any other their Lords they ought to do, and which before the ſaid Diſturbance were uſed to be*

done

done, without leſſening or delaying the ſame. And that they do not preſume to require, pretend, or claim any other Liberties or Priviledges, than what they reaſonably had before the ſaid Tumults. And that all ſuch as have any of Our ſaid Letters of Manumiſſion and Pardon in their Cuſtody, ſhall immediately bring and reſtore the ſame to Us and our Council to be Cancelled, upon the Faith and Allegiance in which to Us they are bound, and upon pain of forfeiting All that to Us they can forfeit for the future. In teſtimony whereof, *We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patent.* **Witneſs Our Self at** Chelmsford, *the Second Day of* July, *in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By this Revocation, all Pretenſions of pleading a Pardon being cut off, procedings were next made againſt the principal Offenders, ſeveral of them being convicted before the *Mayor*, and beheaded, as *John Straw*, *John Kirkby*, *Alane Tradder*, and *John Sterling*, which laſt boaſted that he was the man that ſlew the *Archbiſhop*. Alſo Sir *Robert Treſilian* Chief Juſtice, was impowr'd by ſpecial Commiſſion, to judge others of the Rebels, before whom in ſundry places, above Fifteen hundred were found Guilty, and put to death; and amongſt them the before mentioned Incendiary *Ball* the Prieſt, who being taken at *Coventry*, was brought before the King at S. *Alban's*, and there drawn, hang'd and quartered.

During

During theſe Uproars, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, (very happily for the preſervation of his Perſon, againſt whom the Commons had ſo great a ſpite) was gone into the *North* againſt the *Scots*, but having Tidings of the Inſurrection, thought fit to clap up a Truce for Two years, which he got ratified upon Oath ſome days before the *Scots* had any notice of the Troubles in *England*; but conceiving himſelf in danger, for the general (though falſe) report was, that the King to pacifie the *Rebels* had conſented to abandon him to their pleaſure, when ever they could ſeize him, and having receiceived ſome Affronts in that diſtreſs from the Earl of *Northumberland*, he deſired of the *Scots* a ſafe Conduct, and to reſide for a time amongſt them, who honourably entertain'd him, till he was ſent for by the *King*, and then a new cauſe of grudge happned between him and the Earl of *Northumberland*, for in his return he was denied paſſage through the Town of *Barwick*, by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, by vertue of a Command from the ſaid Earl Lord *Warden* of the *Marches*, not to ſuffer any from *Scotland* to enter the ſame, which indeed the King had ſpecially ordered, forgetting the *Dukes* being then in that Kingdom. However this bred ſuch an Animoſity in the *Duke* againſt the Earl, that being come home, he charged him with ſeveral things, which the Earl as ſtoutly anſwered, and great numbers of armed men followed each of them, but the King taking their Differences into his own hands, workt a Reconciliation.

About *All-hallontide*, began a *Parliament*, but had not accompliſht any thing of moment before they were adjourn'd till after *Chriſtmas*, by reaſon of

of the arrival of the new Queen, Sister of *Wynceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and elected Emperor: an Alliance of some *honour*, but little *profit* to the *Realm*, she being followed with a multitude of *insatiate Bohemians*; who by the *Kings* facility, drain'd abundance of Wealth out of the *Kingdom*. It was observed, that as soon as ever she set foot on shore at *Dover*, an horrible Storm arose at Sea, which so tossed the Ships in the Harbour, that the same which her Majesty came in, was immediately dasht to pieces; which some then lookt upon as Ominous, presaging Tempests of State to follow her.

[1382.] The Nuptial Solemnities, which were very splendid and costly, being over, the *Parliament* meets again, to begin the *New Year*, in which several wholsom Laws were ordain'd; as to admit Merchant-strangers freely to sell their Merchandizes here, to regulate Excesses in in the Apparel of inferiour people, to settle the price of Wines, and many other matters. But, *what* (saith our Author *Thomas Walsingham*, condemning such Practices) *signifie Acts of Parliaments, when after they are made, they take no effect, or are nothing regarded, for the King with his Privy Council, took upon them to alter or wholly set aside all things, that by general consent had in Parliament been established.*

Of the truth whereof, there were too many unhappy Instances, as amongst the rest, in this very *Parliament*, upon the request of the Lords and Commons, Sir. *R. Scroop* was by the *King* appointed Lord Chancellor, as being a Person of known Judgment, Learning, and inflexible Integrity; but within few Months he was turn'd out of that Office, (which he had laudably and prudently administred) meerly

ly becauſe to do the King faithful Service he had diſpleaſed ſome of his unworthy *Minors*: the Relation of which, I ſhall ſet down in *Walſinghams* own Words. *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and ſeveral other Lords, being lately dead, certain greedy and ambitious Knights and Squires, and others of inferior Rank, that were Servants to the King, had begged of him Grants of divers Lands and Lordſhips, lately belonging to the deceaſed, that they might have the profits thereof, for ſo long time as the King by the Cuſtom of the *Realm*, was to hold them in his Hands; which the King, not minding the value, nor conſidering any reaſon they had to deſire, or merit to deſerve, ſuch Revenues, preſently conſents to, ordering them to the Chancellor to have their Grants confirm'd under the great Seal; but the prudent and honeſt Chancellor, who zealouſly deſired the proſperity of the Kingdom, and juſt profit of the King, abſolutely refuſed to do it; telling them, the King was much in debt, and 'twas moſt neceſſary he ſhould reſerve ſuch Contingencies to himſelf, therewith in part to ſatisfy his Creditors; and that ſince they well knew ſuch the Kings urgent occaſions, they could be no good Subjects to his Majeſty, that conſulting their own advantages more than his ſervice, and preferring private lucre before publick neceſſities, ſhould go about to circumvent, and further impoveriſh him, by ſuch prejudicial Requeſts, from which they ſhould do well to deſiſt, and be content with his Majeſties former Largeſſes, which were ſufficient for them.

Nettled with this repulſe, theſe Courtiers reſort back to the King, grievouſly complaining of the

Chancellors Obſtinacy, that he contemned his Majeſties Command, and that it concerned his Majeſty ſuddenly, and with due ſeverity, to Chaſtiſe ſuch an affronted diſobedience; for otherwiſe the Royal Authority would become contemptible to all his People, and his Command be accounted of no value, *&c.* The young King therefore more regarding the falſe ſuggeſtions of theſe ſelf-deſigning flatterers, than the faithful allegations and advice of his Chancellor, ſends in his fury meſſengers to demand the Seal of him, but the Chancellor would deliver it to no hands but the Kings. To whom having ſurrendered it, he was pleaſed to retain it for many days in his own Cuſtody, Sealing Grants therewith himſelf, *&c.* Till at length the keeping of it was conferr'd on *Braibrook* Biſhop of *London.*

To this laſt mentioned *Parliament*, *John Wickliff* exhibited a certain Complaint, or *Articles*, chiefly againſt the Abuſes of *Monks*, *Fryars*, *&c.* An Abſtract of the ſubſtance whereof is as follows.

1. Article, *That all Perſons of what Kind, Order, Sect, or ſingular Religion ſoever, made or inſtituted by men, may freely without any let or puniſhment, leave the ſame at their pleaſure, and are only bound ſtably to hold the Rule of Jeſus Chriſt, taken and given by him and his Apoſtles, and far more profitable than ſuch new Religions founded by ſinful men.*

2. Art. *That thoſe things which men have unreaſonably and wrongfully condemned; As*, That the King cannot take away the Goods of Prelates, Monks, *&c.* misbehaving themſelves, or the like; *may be vindicated and aſſerted, and the contrary*

Error

Errour condemning them Expoſed: For that nothing ought to be condemned, unleſs it ſavour of Errour or unrighteouſneſs againſt Gods Law.

3. Art. *That both Tythes and Offerings be given, paid, and received, with and to the ſame intent only, as by Gods Law they ought; that is, that what is more than ſufficient to ſerve the Prieſts, &c. with Neceſſaries, be given to the Poor: And that if they be abuſed to luxury or covetouſneſs, then they may lawfully be taken away.*

4. Art. *That Chriſts Doctrine, and the Belief touching the Sacrament plainly delivered by him and his Apoſtles, be openly taught in Churches, and the contrary Teaching and falſe Belief, brought up by curſed Hypocrites and worldy Prieſts, exploded.*

Wickliff's preferring theſe Articles (which he at large Confirmed both by *Authorities* and *Reaſon*) ſtirred up freſh hatred againſt him in the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and procured him much trouble.

Wherefore becauſe *all Papiſts* ſo furiouſly condemn him to this day as a *wicked Heretick*, and we juſtly own him as one of the firſt and moſt eminent *Authors* of the Reformation in Doctrine, by his painful Writing and Preaching, his Tenets being generally the ſame * with thoſe profeſſed at this day by the *Proteſtant Churches*, bating ſome few *Errours* intermixt, which are as *leſs material*, ſo likewiſe more excuſable, conſidering the *Ignorance* and *Blindneſs* of the Age he lived in. And ſince his Story,

* *See* Doctor James *of* Oxford, *his Apology for* Wickliff, *ſhewing his Conformity with the new Church of* England, *Printed An.* 1608.

is one of the *Remarkables* of this King *Richard*'s Reign, it will not be impertinent briefly to relate the ſame.

Wickliff is ſaid to be deſcended of an *ancient Family* in the *North*, but the exact year of his Birth we do not find Recorded; he was Educated in *Merton Colledge* in *Oxford*, became firſt *Divinity Reader* in that Famous Univerſity, and afterwards *Rector* of *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſter ſhire*: Touching his Parts, his Contemporary *Henry de Knyghton*, Cannon of *Leiceſter*, (and by conſequence none of his Friends) does yet give this Honorable Character, *That he was the moſt eminent Doctor of Divinity of thoſe times, ſecond to none in Philoſophy, incomparable for School-learning, and tranſcending moſt both in ſubtilty of Science, and profoundneſs of Wit.* Theſe great Abilities enabled him quickly to diſcover the *Falſity* of the Doctrines, and the *Cheat* of the Practices then in vogue in the Church: For in his Studies, he had run through the whole Courſe of the *School-men*; and amongſt them was a profeſſed Follower of *Occham*, by reading whoſe Works, and others that lived about the ſame time, or not long before, ſuch as *Bradwardine*, *Marſilius*, *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore*, *Abelardus*, *Armachanus*, and the Learned *Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln*: God gave him Grace to ſee the Truth of his Goſpel, and by ſeeing it, to *loath* Superſtition and Popery. By *Occham* and *Marſilius* he was informed of the Popes Intruſions and Uſurpations upon Kings, their Crowns and Dignities. Of *Gul. de S. Amore* and *Armachanus*, he learned the ſundry Abuſes of the *Monks* and *Fryars* in upholding this Uſurped Power. By *Abelard* and o-

thers,

thers, he got a Proſpect of the *Right Faith* touching the *Sacrament* of the *Lords Supper*. By *Bradwardine* he was inſtructed in the nature of a true *Sole Juſtifying Faith*, againſt *Merit-mongers*, and *Pardoners*, *Pelagians*, *&c.* Finally by peruſing *Groſthead's* Works (in which he ſeemed to be moſt converſant) he deſcryed the *Pope* to be *Antichriſt*, by hindring the Preaching of the Goſpel, and placing unfit men in the Church, only to ſupport his own *Tyranny*. And being thus enlightned, his Zeal to Truth would not ſuffer him to Conceal his Candle under a Buſhel: And therefore thoſe that aſſign'd his being depriv'd of a *Benefice* in *Oxford*, to be the occaſion of firſt ſpreading his Opinions, and would attribute all to *Reſentment* and *Revenge*, ſpeak either *raſhly* or *maliciouſly*, no ſuch provocation being ſo much as mentioned by Authors of beſt Credit, to occaſion his preaching againſt the Corruptious of the Times; nor is it likely that he would have ſo inveighed againſt *Clergy-covetouſneſs and Pride*, if they could have retorted on him any ſuch cauſe of his Diſcontent; or how can we but imagine, that if he had affected any ſuch ſmall Buſineſs as the *Headſhip* of *Canterbury Colledge*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* (who was his Great *Patron*) could have helpt him to it. For indeed the Fame of his Learning, his unwearied diligence in Preaching and Writing, together with his pious exemplary *Life*, procured him many *Diſciples* amongſt the People, and ſeveral Favorers of the firſt Rank: The rather, for that he juſtly oppoſed the Ambition and Avariee of the Clergy, a *Theme* no leſs grateful than neceſſary; for the Temporal States-men already

found it to be an insufferable Grievance, though they wanted Skill or Courage to abate it. King *Edward* the Third (though a great *Doter* on Ecclesiasticks) is supposed not to have been his Enemy; and 'tis certain the pious Duke of *Lancaster*, (so our Author *Knyghton* always calls him) and several of the Nobles were much his Friends, and Protectors against the Rage of the Prelates; for *Wickliff* being in King *Edward*'s days Cited to Answer before the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*, the said Duke, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Lord Marshal, were pleased to attend him thither, and would needs have him *sit* in presence of the Court, alleaging he had much to answer, and therefore needed convenient ease; which favor the Bishop of *London* refusing to grant, hard words arose between the Temporal and Spiritual Lords; insomuch that the Duke threatned he would *pull down the pride of all the Bishops of* England: And by reason of their Contest, *Wickliff* for the present got off, and little was done against him.

But in the beginning of King *Richards* Reign, the Pope sent a *Bull* to the University of *Oxford*, upbraiding them with suffering and countenancing *Wickliff* and his Doctrine, and charging them on pain of being deprived of all their *Priviledges* and *Indulgences*, that they should no longer tolerate the same. But the *Heads* of the University were so well satisfied with *Wickliffe's* Integrity, that they were at a stand whether they should receive the said *Bull*, or reject it with Contempt: However the Pope plyed both the King and the Arch-bishop, and Bishop of *London*, with several

ral other Letters and Bulls to the same effect; So that at last, *Wickliff* was again Conven'd before them; but on the Day assign'd for his Examination, Sir *Lewis Clifford* came into their Court, and in the Name of the *Princess Joan*, the Kings Mother, peremptorily Commanded them to proceed no further in that Affair; with which being terrified, they desisted their prosecution, and once more he got out of their Clutches.

But now by reason of the before-mentioned Articles offered to the King and Parliament, the Bishops soon after summoned him again before them, but whether he appeared or not, is uncertain: However they proceeded against the Opinions and Conclusions following, as *His*, which as they are related by the Historians of those Times, I shall recite; some of them being Branded as *Heresies*, others only as *Errors*; Viz.

Heresie I.

That the Substance of Bread or Wine remains after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Heresie II.

That Accidents do not remain without a Subject after Consecration in the same Sacrament.

Heresie III.

That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar Identically, truly and really in his proper Corporal Person.

Hereſie IV.

That if a Biſhop or Prieſt whileſt he is in mortal ſin, ſhould Ordain, Conſecrate, or Baptiſe, it would be nothing available.

[Note, *this is falſly charged*, Wickliffe's *words whence this is wreſted, are in his Book*. De Veritate Scripturarum, p. 138. Niſi Chriſtianus, &c. *Vn eſs the Chriſtian Prieſt be united unto Chriſt by Grace, Chriſt cannot be his Saviour, neither can he ſpeak the Sacramental words without lying*; Licet proſint capacibus, *though yet they are profitable to fit Receivers*. Which laſt Clauſe they ſpightfully omit.]

Hereſie V.

That if a Man be duly Contrite, all outward Confeſſion is ſuperfluous and to him unprofitable.

Hereſie VI.

That he hath Obſtinately aſſerted, that it is not founded in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ordained the Maſs.

Hereſie VII.

That God ought to obey the Devil.

[*This Poſition the Devil himſelf would ſcarce dare to utter, much leſs this godly man who on the quite contrary in his Comment on the* Pſalms p. 112 *ſaith*, the Devil is clepid God's Angel: for he may do nothing but at Gods ſuffering, and ſerveth God in tormenting ſinful men, *'tis true in his Book againſt the* Fryars, Cap. 28 *he complains of their* Blaſphemy, *in accuſing the Holy Scriptures of* Falſhood, *which, ſays he, is to* put falſneſs upon God himſelf, *who is the Author thereof, and yet they would have us believe what they themſelves ſay is true. Alas (ſaith he)* who may

ſuffer

suffer this Blasphemy, that Christ in whom is all Treasure of Wit, Wisdom, and Truth, could not, or would not say true words, and sentence, but yet sinful fools have true manner of speaking, contrary to the speech of our Lord Jesu Christ, for if this be sinful fools, yea Divels of Hell, been wiser & truer than Jesu Christ. *From these words, or some such Argument ab Absurdo, against them, that which he proves to be their wicked consequence, they make his Doctrin, just as if one should charge David with asserting*, there is no God, *leaving out*, The Fool hath said in his Heart.

Heresie VIII.

That if the *Pope* be a wicked Man, and consequently a member of the *Devil*, then he has no power given him over faithful Christians by any, unless perhaps by *Cæsar*.

Heresie IX.

That after *Urban* the Sixth, [*Pope at that time*] none ought to be chosen *Pope*, but we ought to live after the manner of the *Greeks*, under our own Laws.

Errors.

*1. That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any, unless first he know such person to be Excommunicated of God.

[* *That is only for offences against Gods Law.*]

2. That if any shall otherwise Excommunicate, he thereby becomes an Heretick, or Excommunicated person himself.

3. That a Prelate Excommunicating a Clerk that has appeal'd to the King and Council of the Kingdom, is thereby a Traytor to God, the King, and Kingdom.

4. That

4. That thoſe who forbear to Preach, or hear the Word of God, or the Goſpel, for the Excommunication of men, are Excommunicated, and at the day of Judgment ſhall be accounted Traytors to God.

*5. That 'tis contrary to the Scriptures, that perſons Eccleſiaſtical ſhould have Temporal poſſeſſions.

* [*This is wrested to a worſe ſenſe than* Wickliff *intended.*]

6. That 'tis lawful to any Deacon, or Presbyter, to Preach the Word of God, without Authority from the *Pope*, or any Catholick Biſhop.

*7. That none, whilſt in mortal ſin, is to be accounted a Biſhop or Prelate.

* [*This is the ſame Calumny with the Fourth Hereſie.*]

8. That Temporal Lords may at their pleaſure take away Temporal Goods from the Church habitually offending.

9. That Tythes are pure Alms, and Pariſhioners may for the ſins of their Curates detain the ſame, and confer them at their pleaſure upon others.

10. That ſpecial prayers applyed by Prelates or Religious perſons to one particular perſon, do not more profit him, than general prayers, all things elſe being equal.

11. That any one entring into any Private Religion, is thereby rendred more unapt, and incapable of obſerving the Commandments of God.

12. That Holy Men, that inſtituted Private Orders of Religion, whether of *Mendicants*, or ſuch as are indowed with poſſeſſions, did ſin in ſo doing.

13. That thoſe called Religious, living in private

vate Orders of Religion, are not of the Christian Religion.

14. That *Fryars Mendicant*, are bound to live by the Labor of their Hands and not to get their living by Begging.

15. That *Fryars* Begging after their Sermons, do thereby incurr the Crime of Simony, and all that bestow Alms on them are Excommunicate, as well the giver as receiver.

About these Positions the Bishops first met at *Oxford* (where they had taken such impression, that *Riggs* the Vice-Chancellor, and many others had imbraced them) and after that at the *Gray-Fryars London*, on the Seventeenth of *May*, 1382. on which day after Dinner, about Two a Clock, just as they were going to proceed in this Business, happened a Wonderful and Terrible *Earthquake* throughout all *England*; whereupon divers of the Suffragans being affrighted, would have desisted, but the Arch-bishop otherwise interpreting the Omen, they went on, and at last solemnly Condemned all the said Propositions, there being present Eight *Bishops*, Nineteen *Monks* and *Fryars*, Fourteen *Doctors* of Law, and Six *Batchellors* of Divinity.

However Mr. *Wickliff* himself (whether because they could not find him: or that they were afraid to meddle with him) or rather because they were much distracted by reason of the Feuds between two *Popes* then in being at once, escaped their malice; and in the Year 1385. dyed peaceably in his Bed, having been Doctor of Divinity above Thirty Years, and of such industry and learning, that he Translated the whole Bible into *English*;

gliſh; one Copy whereof written with his own Hand, lately was, and I ſuppoſe ſtill is extant in Saint *John's Colledge* in *Oxford:* He lived in a time, when the *Fryars* Orders by their manifold diſorders were become exceeding odious, and the *Popes* juriſdiction by proviſions, Reſervations, and Collations very intollerable, which made way for thoſe excellent ſtatute Laws about this time enacted, of *Premunice*, againſt *Proviſors*, and the abuſes of *Begging Fryars*; which ſo bridled and reſtrained the *Popes Rampant* Uſurpations, that he could but little prevail here in *England*, during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, and King *Richard* the Second: Towards making of which Laws, *Wickliffe's* Doctrine ſtruck a great ſtroak, he maintaining very learnedly and ſtoutly, the Kings juriſdiction, Crown, and Dignity, againſt *Papal* and all kind of Encroachments, by the Laws, *Civil*, *Cannon*, and *Common*, of which laſt eſpecially he made great uſe, and was well skill'd therein. But for full ſatisfaction concerning this famous Man, I ſhall here add, the Teſtimonial of the Univerſity given in his behalf, after his Death, as follows, *viz.*

TO all & ſingular the Children of our holy Mother the Church, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, *with the whole Congregation of the Maſters, wiſh perpetual health in the Lord: Foraſmuch as it is not commonly ſeen, that the Acts and Monuments of Valiant men, nor the praiſe and merits of good men, ſhould be paſs'd over and hidden with perpetual ſilence, but that true report and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtrange and far diſtant places; both in Teſtimony thereof,*

of, and for the example of others. Forasmuch also as the provident discretion of Mans nature hath devised this defence against slander, that when ever Witnesses by Word of Mouth cannot be present, the Pen by Writing may supply the same.

Therefore the special good will and care which we bare unto John Wickliff, *sometime Child of this our University, and Professor of Divinity, moving and exciting our minds (as his manners and conditions required no less) with one Mind, Voice, and Testimony, we do witness all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to have been most sincere and commendable; whose honest manners, good disposition, profoundness of learning, and most redolent fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified to, and celebrated by all the faithful, for that we understand, the maturity and ripeness of his Conversation, his diligent Labors and Travels tend much to the Praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of truth.*

Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his Conversation (even from his youth upwards, unto the time of his death) was so praise-worthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noised of him, but in his answering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himself laudably, and as a stout Champion of the Faith, vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful Beggary, Blasphemed and slandered Christ's Religion: Neither was this said Doctor Convict of any Heresie, or burned by our Prelates [Note his Bones were not yet, but long after ordered to be taken up and burnt by the Council of *Constance*] *after his Burial: For God forbid that our Prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty for an Heretick,*

who

who amongſt all the reſt of the Univerſity had Written in Logick, Philoſophy, Divinity, Morality, *and the Speculative Art beyond compariſon, the knowledg of all which things we deſire to teſtifie, that the fame and renown of this ſaid Doctor may be more evident, and had in repute amongſt thoſe into whoſe hands theſe preſent Letters Teſtimonial ſhall come.*

In Witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters Teſtimonial, to be Sealed with our Common Seal, dated at *Oxford*, in our Congregation Houſe, the 15. of *October*, in the Year of our Lord, 1406.

About the ſame time, ſeveral of *Wickliffs* followers, as *Nicholas* of *Hartford*, *John Aſton*, *John Purney*, and other Prieſts, were much troubled for the ſame and the like Opinions; among the reſt our Author *Henry de Knyghton*, tells us; that on *Palm Sunday*, he heard one at *Leiceſter* Preaching theſe horrible Hereſies and Errors (in his Opinion) following, *viz.*

That to Blabber with the Lipps, and multiply Words in Prayer ſignified nothing.

That to give Money for Celebrating of Maſſes would not avail any body, unleſs he led a good Life.

That Chriſt never commanded any Body to Begg.

That no Man is bound to give Almes to any that has better Cloathes and outward accomodation than himſelf.

That none is truly a Prelate, nor capable of a Biſhoprick, unleſs he be a Teacher and Preacher.

That

That Money got by Confeſſions is accurſed, and as well the giver as receiver Excommunicate.

That Preachers carrying about Baggs and Scripps, are falſe Teachers, ſince Chriſt in his Goſpel Commands the contrary, and the true Diſciples of Chriſt never practiſed it.

That for thoſe to Begg, who are able to work is Condemned by the Law Civil, and no where approved by the Law Evangelical.

That Chriſt Converted many of divers States and Conditions to the Faith; but we do not find in the Holy Scripture that ever he converted a Prieſt.

* *

Theſe Opinions ſpreading ſo faſt, and the Biſhops perceiving that yet they had not ſufficient Authority by any Law, or Statute of this *Realm*, to proceed unto Death or Impriſonment, againſt any for matters of Religion, they therefore ſolicited the King for the power of the Temporal Sword, who overcome with their importunity, or perhaps incited by hopes of ſome Subſidy to be given him by the Clergy was content to give his Aſſent to an Ordinance, bearing the name of an Act, made in the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Quint.* R. 2. Ca. 5. in theſe Words.

ITem, forasmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil Perſons within the Realm, going from Country to Country, and from

from Town to Town, in certain Habits under dissimulation of great Holiness; and without the License of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient Authority, Preaching daily, not only in Churches and Church-yards, but also in Markets, Fairs, and open Places, where a great Congregation of People is, divers Sermons containing Heresies, and notorious Errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian Faith, and Destruction of the Laws, and of the Estate of Holy Church, to the great Peril of the Souls of the People, and of all the Realm of England, as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, and other Prelates, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Canon, and of Civil Law, and a great part of the Clergy of the said Realm, specially assembled for this great cause; which Persons do also Preach divers matters of Slaunder, to ingender, discord, and dissention betwixt divers Estates of the said Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, in exciting of the People to the great Peril of all the Realm, which Preachers cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey their Summons and Commands, nor care not for their Monitions, nor Censures of the Holy Church, but openly despise them. And

moreover

moreover by their subtil and ingenious words do draw the People to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs. It is ordained and assented in this present Parliament, That the Kings Commissions be made, and directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and also their Fauters, Maintainers, and Abetters, and to hold them in Arrest and strong Prison, till they will justifie to them according to the law and reason of Holy Church. And the King willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them shall be certified, and thereof required as is aforesaid.

This was the first pretence of Statute against the true Professors of Religion, and indeed was no Act of Parliament duly made, but onely by the King and the Clergy, for at *Michaelm.* following, in the sixth year of the King, a Parliament being assembled complain'd thereof, and having re-

cited the ſame—Add——**The which was never agreed nor granted by the Commons; but whatſoever was moved therein, was without their Aſſent; and therefore prayeth the Commons, that the ſaid Statute be diſannulled, for it is not in any wiſe their meaning, that either themſelves or ſuch as ſhall ſucceed them, ſhall be further juſtified, or bound by the Prelates, than were their Anceſtors in former times. Whereunto it is anſwered,** Il plaiſt au Roy, **The King is pleaſed.**

Yet though the ſuppoſed Law of the Fifth were hereby ſo repealed, and the fraud thereof diſcovered, the Prelates ordered matters ſo, that this Act of Repeal was never publiſhed, nor ſince printed in the Statute Book with the reſt of the Acts of that Parliament, as Mr. *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments well obſerves.

The Year 1383 was famous for a Warlike Expedition undertaken by the *Engliſh Clergie*, called a *Croiſado*, or going forth to fight the *Lords Battels* (as they pretended) under the Banner of the *Croſs*. The occaſion thus:

After the death of Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh, which happened in the Year of our Lord 1378, one *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Barri* in *Apulia*, by the undue acts hereafter mentioned got into the Chair, by the name of *Urban* the Sixth; who as he entered by force, ſo he proceeded with ſo much pride and inſolence, that moſt of the Cardinals forſook

ſook him, and retiring to *Avignion* in *France*, choſe one *Robert* Biſhop of *Cibbo* in his ſtead, who took upon him the ſtyle of Pope *Clement*. Now to deſtroy him, and all that own'd and took part with him, was the meritorious deſign. And that the Reader may the better perceive the nature of the Quarrel, and what mighty reaſon people had to venture their Lives, and murder their Neighbours, for this *Urbans* Intereſt, I ſhall inſert a Copy of the Cardinals Letter to him, as *Walſingham* recites it.

THE *Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, by Divine Merit Cardinals, during the vacancy of the Apoſtolical See, to* Bartholomew *late Archbiſhop of* Barri, *wiſh the* Spirit of ſounder counſel. *The ſanctity and purity of the Catholick Faith, and the wholſom devotion of Chriſtian People, the clear profeſſion of the whole Eccleſiaſtick State, and Salvation of all the faithful, do require, That thoſe things which may occaſion a ſcandal unto our faith, the ſubverſion of the Worſhippers of Chriſt, the weakning of the State of the Church, and the evident danger of ſouls, ſhould be openly notified to all, declared amongſt the people, and according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel* preached upon the houſe-tops, *leſt by indiſcreet ſilence thoſe be left in error who might be reclaimed, and they to whoſe office it belongs ſhould lie under the reprehenſion of the Prophet, ſaying,* Thy Prophets and Preachers ſhall propheſie unto thee things falſe and fooliſh, and ſhall not lay open thine iniquity, that they might provoke thee to penance. *Whereas therefore the* Apoſtolick Seat *being* empty *by the death of Pope* Gregory XI, *of pious memory, who in* March *laſt departed this life; we for the Election of another*

Pope, *according to Law and Cuſtom, had aſſembled our ſelves in the* Conclave, *for that purpoſe aſſign'd, in the Apoſtolical Palace, the People of* Rome *gathered together by the ſound of a* Bell *and in hoſtile manner, ſurrounding the place, almoſt filling the Palace both without and within, did with vehement Terror threaten, that unleſs without any delay, we chooſe a* Roman, *or* Italian, *they would preſently cut us into bits: And ſo there being no due ſpace afforded, wherein we might deliberate of a fit Perſon; they againſt our will and intention, ſuddenly and abruptly by violence and bodily fear, compelling us to chooſe an* Italian, *We thereupon meerly to avoid the otherwiſe inevitable Peril of Death, as at the ſame time we openly declared amongſt our ſelves, did think fit to nominate Thee for* Pope, *not doubting but thou (to whom as well as to all the* Clergy, *and* People, *that accurſed violence was well known) hadſt had ſo much* Conſcience, *as in no ſort to accept of the ſame. But thou forgetful of thine own* Salvation, *laying aſide all pure Conſcience, and being otherwiſe* ambitious, *waſt ſo far inflamed with the Ardor of Worldly Honour, upon the preſentation of that Election (though extorted alſo by Fear, and againſt the Canonical Sanctions, from thoſe who carried it from us into the City) that thou to the greateſt Scandal of the Chriſtian* Clergy *and* People *and to the pernicious Example of others in ſuch caſes, didſt conſent to the ſaid* Election, *though the ſame in Law were abſolutely* null *and* void, *and alſo out of fear (as we well hope) didſt ſuffer thy ſelf to be inthron'd in the City, and Crown'd* de facto, *and ſo haſt taken upon thee the name of* Pope, *who by the holy and wiſe Fathers, and by Right and Law, are rather and deſervedly to be called,* An accurſed Apoſtate, Antichriſt, and the Invader, and

Deſtroyer

Destroyer of all Christianity. *Since therefore such thy wicked Intrusion into the* Papacy *is now divulged throughout the World, grown notorious, and cannot any longer be hid, as being done just before* Easter, *when from all parts of* Christendom *there were multitudes of People at* Rome; *and whereas many Errors have already began to creep abroad, and the Consciences of the Faithful to be intangled; and that thou being long expected, & charitably admonished in secret, regardest not to amend thy folly, but rather dost desire to draw the whole* Clergy *and* People *into a Precipice, and preferring the empty transitory Glory of the World, before the Salvation of thine own, and other Christians Souls, obstinately endeavourest to hold the* Popedom *by Tyranny*, into which thou didst not enter by the Door; *We therefore not being able with safe Consciences any longer to dissemble the Premisses, laying forth the same, and giving notice thereof to thee and all faithful Christians, though the same be already notorious to thy self, and almost all the* Clergy *and* People, *do publish and denounce thee accursed and (as having intruded into the* Papacy *without any Canonical Election) an Invader of all* Christianity, *since thou dreadest not to invade the very Head of* Christianity *it self, and such a Destroyer, as seekest by thy tyrannical Usurpation, to cause almost all the* Sacraments *to fail, and the universal People of Christ to run astray on Precipices, as wanting a true Shepherd; Exhorting nevertheless, and intreating by the* Bowels of Mercy, of our Lord Jesus Christ, *whose Spouse the Church, thou hast not blusht to commit a* Rape *upon; that thou wouldest think of the end, to which fulness of days is hastening thee; that thou wouldest direct the Eyes of thy mind to God and a pure Conscience; and that thou wouldest*

quit, *and leave empty and free, that moſt* Holy Seat *of S.* Peter, *which* without title *thou doſt* occupy; *and that thou wouldſt lay aſide the* Papal Enſigns *and* Ornaments, *and without delay abſtain from the Adminiſtration of any the* Spirituals *or* Temporals *of the Papacy and Roman Church, and ſtudy to ſatisfie God and the Church to thy utmoſt power, by the fruits of* true repentance; *which if thou ſhalt perform, thou mayſt deſerve to obtain the grace of God, and the applauſes of the World, and the praiſes of the Clergie and People, and a remiſſion of thoſe* ſharp penalties *by the Canon Laws inflicted, and to be with all diligence inflicted upon thee; but otherwiſe art ſure deſervedly to incur the* indignation *of Almighty God, and of S.* Peter *and* Paul, *and all other Saints; and we will invoke Divine and Human counſel with the Spouſe of Chriſt, and of all Chriſtians, whoſe Mother without doubt is in this behalf violated; and ſhall uſe all other remedies granted by the Canonical Sanctions hitherto, that before thou haſt ſo reſigned, thou mayſt have no hope of mercy.*

But *Urbanus* (whom ſome that were fond of a Quibble were wont to call *Turbanus*, becauſe he was the Diſturber of Chriſtendom) would neither be wheedled nor hector'd out of the *Popedom*, and therefore he gets together the Biſhops that ſtill took his part, and makes divers of them *Cardinals*, who ſoon returned a *thundering anſwer* to this Epiſtle of the Schiſmatical Cardinals and Biſhops, (for ſo they called them that diſown'd *Urban*;) which (to ſhew the meek ſpirits of the men, and how notably they argue) I ſhall preſume ſo far on the Readers patience, as here likewiſe to inſert.

We

VVE *the Universal Faithful of Christ, honour'd with this* sacred Character, *founded so upon the firm rock of Truth, that the Lord upholding and watering the root of our Holy Faith, by no* whirlwinds *of Heretical or Schismatical persuasion, we can be extirpated or overthrown; to* John *Bishop of* Præneſt, William *with the title of* S. Stephen in the Celian Mount, &c. *not (as you call your selves) Cardinals by Divine Mercy of the Holy Roman Church, but accurſed and moſt ravenous* Wolves, *Invaders of the whole Flock of Christ, and moſt ſubtil* Foxes, *deſiring to lay waſte the Vineyard of the Lord of Hoſts, ſend not* Greeting *but* Grief, *not* Joy *but* Sorrow, *and that you may be* cloathed with Confuſion as with a Garment. *The inſipid tenour of your* Letters, *which by the* Devils inſtigation *you raſhly have ſent throughout all the Provinces of Chriſtendom, hath* wounded our hearts, *and all that is within us, not by ſtartling (u) Faith, but with a* godly compaſſion *for ſo horrid a* ſcandal *as lately is raiſed in the Holy Church of God; but* Wo unto you by whom theſe ſcandals come, *for the Face of our* Mother the Church *is made* pale, *pale with unſpeakable trouble, for the error of your wickedneſs (the like not heard of for many ages) who would be eſteemed zealous of the Laws, when in truth you are* ſacrilegious, *though ſoon ſhe is rendered* ruddy *again with modeſt bluſhes, ſeeing by your ill deeds all the Borders of Chriſtianity to be inflamed. O deteſtable and unhappy Ambition of yours, which endeavours to rend our Lords* ſeamleſs Coat, *and part that which ſuffers no* diviſion, *but rather rejoyceth in* unity. *Wicked Servants,* Out of your own mouths you ſhall be judged, *by your*

Letters, you have declared the manner of the Election of the Pope by you lately celebrated, alledging that an unruly multitude *of armed people beset the Conclave, terribly and mortally threatning you, unless you should choose an* Italian *or* Roman, *but not* limiting any certain person *whom they would force you to elect.*

'Tis therefore manifest, as to the person, *that you do grant he was* freely, *and not by* compulsion, *chosen; and so we firmly do and will hold, that the Election by you then made was* rightfully and canonically *celebrated; and to him so* elected, enthron'd, *and* crown'd, *as Head of the* Holy Church, Peters Successor, *and* Vicar of Christ on earth, *we do faithfully adhere, and promise humbly to obey his Admonitions, Words, and Acts, as becomes true and faithful* Catholicks; *not taking a damnable example from your pernicious rebellion, and sacrilegious and heretical stubbornness.*

And furthermore, we detest your folly, and baseness of your pretence; for how should fear *invade you, who are placed in the* fore front *of the* Churches Troops, *as* Champions and Defenders *of the* Orthodox Faith, *and wearing on your heads the* Red Caps, *Ensigns of* Ecclesiastical Liberty, *for a token that you ought undantedly to strive for* Righteousness and Justice *even to death? Now I say, could the* dread of death *make you depart from* Righteousness? *Or how were you that call your selves* Pillars of the Church *become so weak and feeble, as not to be able to uphold the* building *from tumbling on your heads? Was there any* Sampson *there? No alas, he died long since. But to excuse your selves in your sins, you will perhaps say, That*

Peter

Peter *the* Rock of Faith, *and after Christ the* prime foundation of the Church, *was so affrighted at the words of a poor* Servant-maid, *as to* deny *Christ himself, and that too with an Oath, of whose infirmity you are Partakers and Followers.* O ye Generation of Vipers, *ye crafty Serpents nourished with poison, if ye taste the* bitter herb, *taste also that which is* sweet and wholsom; *and after this damnable* denial of the Head, *return with* Peter to confession. *We truly* build upon the Rock, *whilest your abominable obstinacy makes you* Consorts of a Traytor, *whose iniquity relies on* Lead, Sands, and Rubbish. *Nor let your* foolish blindness and blind foolishness *imagine, that those words in your* Letters, *which seem to carry a shew of* piety and zeal for the House of God, *shall move us and persuade us in any thing to consent with you; for we most evidently perceive, that those words are full of the* Leaven of the Pharisees, *of which Christ in the Gospel admonisheth his Disciples to beware. And by your leaving* Rome, *and naming* another place for perpetrating your wicked designs, *you clearly shew us that you have left the* true Head of the Church, *and are become* Members of the Devil, *and gone out into the Desart with* Judas the Traytor, *where fitly with an* Haltar you may be ready to hang your selves; *that that of the Prophet may be verified of you,* —Let their habitation be desolate, and let none be left to dwell in their tents. *As also it is written further of each of you,* —Let his days be few, and his Bishoprick let another take. *Furthermore, you do but blacken the clear flame of the* Count of Fundi, *(a Town in* Italy, *whose Earl harbour'd the* Cardinals) *when you so loud him with your Commendations throughout* Chri-

Christendom; *since as the Poet saith,* Idem est laudari à turpibus & ob turpia, *To be prais'd by bad men is all one as to be prais'd for bad things. Consider therefore,* O Count! *that whereas heretofore thou wast* unknown *in divers Christian Countries, which thou thoughtest an unhappiness; now thou hast gain'd not a Name but Shame throughout the World, for inviting to thy self the* Enemies of Christ, *the Breakers of the* Churches Unity, *and the Disturbers of the* peace and tranquillity *of all* Christendom, *and cherishing their detestable perfidiousness; so that thou seemest to have built an* Asylum *against Christ and all Catholick people. Arise therefore,* O Count! *throw these* Mice *out of thy Budget, chase these* Serpents *from thy Tabernacle, and shake these* coals of Brimstone *out of thy Bosom, lest they bring thee to* everlasting burnings; *so shalt thou obtain the* grace of God, *the* blessings of all Christians, *and the* commendation of all the World, *and shalt merit to escape the* Divine Vengeance.

Dated at Rome, *&c.*

Both Parties being thus *hot,* and Christendom divided between two Popes at once, each damning the other for a *Schismatick* and *Villain*; *France, Flanders, Scotland,* and several other Countries joyn'd with Pope *Clement*; insomuch that the *French* King proclaim'd throughout all his Realm, that none should own or obey *Urban* on pain of being *Beheaded,* and all his Goods forfeited to the Kings use. But by means of *Urban*'s Complemental Letters to King *Richard* and the Parliament, and his honouring our Bishop of *London* with a Cardinals Cap, *England* was altogether at

at his devotion; for in the second year of King *Richard* an Act was made, declaring him to be lawful Pope, and that the Livings of all Cardinals and others that were Rebels to him, should be seized into the Kings hands, and the King to be answered of the profits thereof; and that whosoever within this Realm should procure or obtain any Provision or other Instrument from any other Pope than the same *Urban*, should be out of the Kings Protection.

And this year 1382, the said *Urban* sent over his Bull to *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich* (a young bold Prelate) to raise a *Croisado*, that is, to levy Forces who should be all mark'd with the Cross, as engag'd in an Holy War, to fight with and subdue his Enemy the said *Clement*, the Anti-Pope, and all his Followers and Favourers, whom thereby he did excommunicate and depose from all Honours, and forbid any Conversation with them living, and burial of their bodies when dead, &c. In which Bull were (amongst other things) granted the Powers and Privileges following.

1. That the said Bishop of *Norwich* may use the Sword against the Anti-Pope and all his Adherents, Favourers, and Counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2. That he hath full power to inquire of all and singular such *Schismaticks*, and put them in prison, and to confiscate all their Goods moveable and immoveable.

3. That he hath Power and Authority to deprive all Laymen that are such *Schismaticks*, of all manner of Secular Offices whatsoever, and to give

give their Offices to other fit and convenient Perſons.

4. To deprive all ſuch Schiſmatick Clerks, and beſtow their Benefices either with or without Cure, their Dignities, Parſonages, or Offices to other Perſons more meet for the ſame, having power over Lay-perſons that are exempt, Clerks both Secular and Regular, yea though they be Fryars Mendicants.

5. That he may diſpenſe with any Dignified or Beneficed Clerks, ſo that they may be abſent from their Cures or Benefices, under the ſtandard of the Croſs, without leave of any of their Prelates, and yet take and receive the entire Profits, as though perſonally reſident.

6. There is granted to all that paſs the Seas in this Cauſe, either at their own Expences, or at the Expences of any others, **Full Remiſſion of all their Sins**, and beſides as large Priviledges as to any that pay their Money, or go to Fight for the Holy Land.

7. That all ſuch as ſhall with their proper Goods and Subſtance give ſufficient Stipend to able Souldiers at the diſcretion of the aforeſaid Biſhop muſtred, or by any other his Deputy, although themſelves be not perſonally engaged, yet ſhall they have the like Remiſſion and Indulgence, as they which in perſon go to the Expedition.

8. That all they ſhall be Partakers of this Remiſſion, who ſhall give any part of their Goods to the ſaid Biſhop, to Fight againſt the ſaid Schiſmaticks.

9. That if any ſhall chance to die in the Journey, or be kill'd, that are Souldiers under the ſaid Standard

Standard of the Croſs, they ſhall fully and wholly receive the ſaid Grace, and ſhall be Partakers of the aforeſaid Forgiveneſs and Indulgence.

10. The ſaid Biſhop hath Power to Excommunicate, Suſpend, and Interdict all perſons whatſoever that ſhall be Rebellious, or Diſturbers of him in the Execution of the Powers and Authority hereby committed unto him, of whatſoever Dignity or Condition they be, whether Kings, Queens, Emperors, or of any other Quality Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal.

Laſtly, That he may compel and inforce any Religious Perſons whatſoever, to go in this Expedition, and ſend them over Sea, if he think good ſo to do, and this although they be Profeſſors of the Fryars Mendicants.

Being thus furniſht the Biſhop to ſpread his Authority, and the more effectually carry on the Work, publiſht the Ordinances following.

1. *IT is Ordained for the Honour, the Eſtabliſhment of Holy Church, and the Salvation of the Realm, that ſufficient Preachers be ſent into all the Country, to Declare and Publiſh the* Croiſado, *and the Right Eſtate of Holy Church, and of our moſt Holy Father Pope* Urban, *whom God (of his benign Grace) pity and redreſs, according to his good pleaſure.*

2. *That to every ſuch Preacher or Confeſſor throughout* England, *there ſhall be joyned a Clerk*

a Clerk, who shall receive and register the Names of all such as shall offer their persons to this Holy War; and also all money that shall be given, over whom the said Confessors shall be Controllers.

3. *That no Woman shall presume to go this voyage without special Licence from the Bishop of* Norwich *under his Seal.*

4. *That no man by the way shall rob, or by any kind of Extortion take the goods of any till they come upon the Enemies, where they may do it by right of War, on pain of losing all share in the said Pardon.*

5. *That the said Preachers shall press the people to say Prayers and make Processions for the safety of the Church, and the prosperity of this Voyage.*

6. *That all Curates on pain of Excommunication shall encourage, and by all means they can (especially in Confession) press and engage their Parishioners, as well poor as rich, to come into and contribute to this pious Expedition, so much for the good of the Church, and advantage of their own Souls.*

7. *That every one that will go in person for the Absolution, shall before such Absolution be given him, swear to come to the said Bishop or his Deputy, and make his Indentures touching the time that he purposes to serve in the* Croisado.

8. *That*

8. *That if any will find a man, that is, hire another to go in his name, and upon his coſts and charges, that he muſt either provide an able ſufficient Souldier that ſhall not refuſe the Service, or elſe allow ſo much for his Pay to the Biſhop, and let him provide one himſelf.*

9. *That every one that ſends ſuch a Souldier in his own ſtead, ſhall enroll in the Biſhops Regiſtry both his own and his Souldiers name before he takes Abſolution, otherwiſe to loſe all benefit of the Pardon.*

The form of the Abſolution to be given to all that ſhould ſerve in or contribute to this Croiſado.

By Apoſtolical Authority to me in this behalf committed, We do Abſolve thee from all thy ſins confeſſed with thy mouth, and for which thou art contrite in heart, and of which thou wouldſt be confeſſed, if they did occur to thy memory; and do grant unto thee full forgiveneſs of all thy ſins, and the Retribution of the Juſt, and we do promiſe thee an increaſe of Eternal Life. And we do alſo grant to thee as many Privileges as are granted to thoſe that go to the Aid of the Holy Land. And furthermore we do impart

impart to thee the Suffrages and Advantages of the Prayers and Good Works of the whole Catholick Church.

The business being thus published with all the *zeal and art* of the Clergy, the Bishop thereupon collected an innumerable and incredible Summe of Money, besides abundance of Plate both Gold and Silver, *Jewels*, *Rings*, *Dishes*, *Spoons*, *Bracelets*, (they are all our Authors own words, who lived at that time) *Necklaces, and other ornaments, especially of Ladies and others of the Female Sex*; for 'twas said, one Lady gave an hundred pounds, and so others some more some less, and many even beyond their ability as was believed, so fond were they to obtain the imaginary benefit of *Absolution* for themselves or their Friends; (for by this they might not onely save their own Souls, but free whom they pleas'd that were dead from pains of Purgatory, or ensure the Salvation of any Child or Relation living.) And so all the secret Treasure of the Kingdom, that was in the custody of these foolish weaker Vessels was endanger'd, for otherwise they were not to be absolved, if they did not contribute to their power and ability. Many men went in person at their own charge, others that were old, or weak, or timorous, sent Souldiers and bore their expences. For the Bishop had got most admirable Indulgences both for the quick and dead, and could absolve *& à pœna & à culpa*, as well from the guilt or offence, as from all punishment due for sin. And 'twas said, that some of his Commissioners did assert,

sert *That at their commands Angels would descend from Heaven, and snatch Souls from out of the pains of Purgatory, and without delay carry them to rights into heaven.*

Whilest the *warlike Bishop* was making these *Preparations* comes a *Parliament*, where it was Debated, whether it where *safe* to hazard so considerable a strength of the Kingdom, in such an impertinent Quarrel, and under the Conduct of a rash *unexperienced Priest*; Those that were for it, besides the *Interest of Religion* urg'd *Reason of State That now was the time for the King to recover his Right in* France, *and weaken the French King, when he lay under Pope* Urban's *Curse, for siding with Pope* Clement, *during which he could expect no Success on his Armes.* Thus for some time very doubtfull it was which way the *Parliament* would incline; but at last upon hearing that *Antiphone* sung,—*Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ,* —*Behold the Cross of our Lord, fly ye Adversaries*, they where as with a *Charm* brought over to Decree in favour of the *Expedition*, assigning the *Fifteenth* given in the last *Parliament*, to be imployed herein. And now the Project went on more vigorously then ever, insomuch saith *Walsingham*; *That in all this spacious Kingdom there was scarce one person to be found, that did not either offer his person, or bestow part of his goods for promoting the same.* About the middle of *May*, the Bishop was ready to put to Sea with his Army lying in *Kent* waiting for a Wind, the King (whether designing quite to forbid the Voyage, or thinking the Bishop had got too much Money, and willing to share with him or what other reason I

know not) ſent him a *Writ* to come back and ſpeak with his Majeſty and know his pleaſure; but the *proud Prelate* miſtruſting the worſe, was ſo intent upon the Affair of his Lord and Maſter the *Pope*, that he had no leiſure to obey his *King* and therefore to avoid any ſtops, preſently haſtned over to *Calice*, leaving his Army to follow him, which being arriv'd, he ſet up the Standard of the *Croſs*, and beſiges *Graveling*, and takes it and ſeveral other places, uſing great Cruelties, and deſtroying all they could Maſter: For as the Epiſcopal Generall was a perſon raſh and daring, and inflam'd with mad Zeal, ſo his Soulders confiding in their *Abſolutions*, adventur'd upon the greateſt dangers without fear, eſteeming, ſays *Walſingham*, it *Glory* to overcome, but *Gain* to die in this Cauſe, where they thought themſelves ſure to go directly to Heaven, and to enjoy ſo much the greater Bliſs the more they butcher'd of the *Schiſmaticks*: But theſe firſt Fervours were quickly cool'd by hard Service, and having in vain laid Siege to *Ypres*, they are at laſt forc'd to quit it, being all in Confuſion amongſt themſelves, and in great want of Proviſions; whence they come back to *Graveling*, and therein are beſieg'd by the *French King* with a powerfull Army; In which Diſtreſs our Biſhop wrote to King *Richard*, That if ever he intended to try his Fortune againſt the *French King*, now was the time, or at leaſt that he ſhould ſend ſome Forces to give him Battle, and force him to abandon the Siege: King *Richard* was then at *Daintry* in *Northamptonſheire*, and on the receipt of this News being at Supper, inſtantly aroſe from Table, and in mighty rage and fury

took

took Horſe, riding Poſt with ſuch ſpeed, that he came to Sant *Albans* at Midnight, where having borrowed the Abbots Guelding (which *Walſingham* a Monk of that Abbey complains he never reſtor'd) he haſtned to *Weſtminſter*, making ſhew as if he would never reſt till he had Routed the *French King* and all his Hoſt, but being ſomewhat weary with Riding, at *Weſtminſter*, he went to Bed, and having *taken council of his Pillow*, *was* nothing ſo fierce next Morning, but reſolv'd to lay aſide the thoughts of going himſelf, and to ſend ſome body elſe: To which purpoſe, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was nominated, but ſo tedious in making Preparations, that the Biſhop in the mean time was glad to leave *Graveling*, having firſt diſmantled and deſtroyed it, and ſo return'd home to *England*, after a vaſt Treaſure diſſipated, and many thouſand Lives loſt, and more Souls cheated, with as *little Glory*, as he ſet forth with *mighty Expectation*, the *Succeſs* of his *Armes* being ſuitable to the *ridiculous occaſion* of them. And what was yet worſe for the haughty Prelate, ſoon after his coming home in a *Parliament*, held at *London*, about *Alhallontide*, all his *Temporalities* were ſeized into the Kings hands, for his Contempt in diſobeying the Kings *Writ*, when His Majeſty ſent to him to come back juſt as he was putting to Sea on this piece of *Eccleſiaſtical Knight-Errantry*, and he refuſed to come as aforeſaid.

In this Parliament alſo was granted to the King half a *Fifteenth* by the *Laity*, and half a *Tenth* by the *Clergy*.

In the Year 1384, a *Truce* was made with *France*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Bro-

ther *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* entred *Scotland* with a mighty Army, but the *Scots* wholly declining to fight, and many of the *Engliſh* being deſtroyed with Want and cold Weather, they return'd, making very ſmall Advantages by that expenſive Expedition.

Soon after which, an *Iriſh Carmelite Fryer* made a diſcovery in Writing to the King of a Deſign the Duke of *Lancaſter* had to deſtroy His Majeſty and uſurp the Crown; but the King adviſing about the ſame only with certain young Favourites, the Duke obtained notice of the Charge, and cleared, or ſeemed to clear himſelf ſo much to the Kings ſatisfaction, that the poor *Fryer* was committed to Cuſtody; and 'tis ſaid, on the Evening before the *Hearing* ſhould have been, was moſt cruely *murdered*. Whoſe Information, if *real*, ſhews what an Opportunity the King ſlipt of preventing his after miſfortune, and that ſome times it proves even more dangerous to *diſcover Treaſons*, than to *act them*, which yet ſhould diſcourage no good Subject from the diſcharge of his Duty. But poſſibly this whole Accuſation, or the Relation of ſuch a thing might be a *Contrivance* of the Duke's Enemies, to render him ſuſpected to the King and odious to the People; for it 'tis certain they entred not many Months after into a *formal Deſign* againſt his Life: the occaſion whereof I do not find mentioned by Authors, but only that the King by the Inſtigation of his young *Cabal-Council* had conceiv'd diſpleaſure againſt him; and that they had conſpired to take away the ſaid Duke's Life. In order whereunto certain *Crimes* were ſuggeſted, *Appellors* prepared, and

'twas

twas agreed that he ſhould be ſuddenly Arreſted, and brought before the *Lord Chief Juſtice Tryſilian*, who had boldly undertaken to pronounce Sentence upon him according to the quality of the matters to be objected (though by Law he could not be tryed but by his (*Peers*) and ſo *Execution* ſhould immediately have followed. But the Duke being fore warn'd of theſe Contrivances, haſtned to his Caſtle of *Pomfret*, and there ſtood upon his Guard: And the King's Mother conſidering the Dangers that would enſue ſuch a *Rupture*, took great pains by riding (notwithſtanding her Age and corpulency) to and fro between the King and him, to pacifie each ſide, and at laſt brought them to ſuch a *Reconcilement*, that all appearance of *Diſpleaſure* on the one part, and *Diſtruſt* on the other, was for that time removed.

About the Feaſt of S. *Martin* was held a *Parliament* at *London*, wherein the Earl of *Northumberland* was Condemn'd for the loſs of the Caſtle of *Barwick*, Surpriſed by the *Scots*, through the Treachery of one that he had put in there as his Deputy: But the King after Judgment was pleaſed to *Pardon* him, who went forthwith down and retook the ſaid Caſtle.

In the Year 1385 the *French* made great Preparations for the *Invading of England*, and to facilitate the Attempt by a *Diverſion*, ſend the Admiral of *France* with a conſiderable *Force* into *Scotland*, the Common *Back-door* at which they were wont to Infeſt us: Of which King *Richard* having notice, raiſes a mighty Army, and by ſpeedy Marches pierces into the Heart of *Scotland*, and reduc'd their chief City *Edenburgh* into Aſhes

as a *Bonfire*, to give the whole Kingdom notice of his Arrival, and Challenge them to Battel: But they declined it, and Victuals growing very ſcarce, the King thought fit to return homewards, the rather for that the *Scots* in the mean time had entred *Nothumberland*, and beſieg'd *Carlile*; but hearing of the Kings approach, fled back into *Scotland*.

During this Expedition, the Lord *John Holland* the Kings Brother by the Mother ſide, near *York*, Killed the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Stafford*, for which he fled, and the King was ſo highly incenſed, that he cauſed all his *goods* to be Confiſcated; the *King's Mother* interceded for him, but could not be heard, and reſented the denial ſo heavily, that ſoon after ſhe *died*.

At a *Parliament* the latter end of this Year the *Laity* granted the King one *Fifteenth and an half* upon condition that the Clergy would give a *Tenth and an half*, who took this *Articulating* of the *Commons* in grievous dudgeon, proteſting, that the *Laity* ſhould not *Charge them*; and the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* was *ſo hot*, as to declare, he would rather venture his Head in this *Cauſe*, than that the *Holy Church of England* ſhould thus Truckle: whereupon the *Commons* and many of the *Temporal Lords* began to bid Battel to the *Clergies Temporalities*, ſaying, they were grown to that exceſs of *Pride*, that it would be a *Work* of *Piety* and *Charity*, to clip their *Wings*, and reduce them to an *Humility* ſuitable to their *Profeſſion*. The *Clergy* at this were not a little *Alarm'd*, and to prevent the worſt, make a voluntary offer of a *Tenth* to the King, and ſo the Diſpute is rock'd to ſleep.

Alſo

Also during this *Parliament*, the King Conferred several *Honours*, Creating his Uncle *Thomas of Woodstock* (who before was Earl of *Buckingham*) Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his other Uncle *Edmund* of *Langley* (before the Earl of *Cambridge*) Duke of *York*: With whom too he prefer'd his pernicious Favorites, as *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, to be *Marqueſs* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, (the firſt man within the Realm that was Enobled with that Title; and Sir *Michael de la Pole* (the Son of a Merchant in *London*) was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancelor of *England*. But theſe laſt grew in Hatred faſter then they did in Honour; the *Ancient Nobility* diſdainfully reſenting their undeſerved (as they deemed) Advancement. Nor were the People better ſatiſfied, but grumbled heavily, for they durſt not ſpeak out againſt theſe *Court Ear-wigs*, as Seducers of the King, and occaſion of all miſadminiſtrations of Affairs.

In this *Parliament* likewiſe, the Duke of *Lancaſter* deſired *Leave* of the *King Lords and Commons*, to go into *Spain* to recover that Kingdom belonging to him in the Right of his Wife; which was granted, and Forty thouſand Marks promiſed him for his aid therein; and accordingly on *Eaſter-Day* he came to take his *Leave* of their *Majeſties*: The King commanding that he ſhould be ſtyled *King of Spain*, preſented him with a *Crown of Gold*, as the Quen did anorher to her Siſter: A great number of the *Youthfull Nobility* and *Gentry* attended the *Duke* in this *Voyage*, who having Matcht one of his Daughters to the King of *Portugal*, with joynt Forces Invaded *Caſtile*, and

took many ſtrong Towns; but at laſt on a Treaty it was agreed, that the King of *Spains Eldeſt Son* ſhould marry *Katherine* another of the *Dukes Daughters*, and the *Duke* receive *Two hundred thouſand Nobles* in hand, and the Sum of *Ten thouſand Marks* yearly, during the *Lives* of him and his *Dutcheſs*, and in conſideration thereof all *Claims* ſhould ceaſe. *Walſingham* tells us the *Duke* had ſuch *Favour* from the *Pope*, as to be *Arm'd* for the *Recovery* of this *Kingdom*, with a Grant of *Remiſſion of Sins*, to all that ſhould adventure with him, or aid him with money towards the Voyage: and had got as as large *Indulgences* as the *Biſhop* of *Norwich* lately had as aforeſaid; but he well obſerves, *That the frequency of granting ſuch Pardons and Relaxations, had now rendered them vile and contemptible to the People*, ſo that there was ſcarce any body regarded them, or would give *Two pence* to this laſt *Croiſado*, though they were ſo extravagantly fond of the *former*; whence is taught this Leſſon, *That a Cheat though never ſo religious, is not to be plaid over twice in one Age.*

The Year 1386 filled *England* with great *Conſternations* and frequent *Alarms*, by means of an *Invaſion* threatned by the *French*, who had prepared above *Twelve hundred Sail of Ships*, and a *mighty Army* on that Deſign, which lay hovering on the Coaſts, daily waiting an opportunity to paſs the Channel; and the better to ſecure their men at their firſt Landing in *England*, they had framed a *wonderfull Wall of Wood*, three Miles in length, of great thickneſs and twenty Foot high, with which they would have incloſed their Camp, But it happned, that the Lord *Beauchamp* Captain

tain of *Calice*, took three of their Ships laden with part of the ſaid Incloſure, which King *Richard* cauſed to be ſet up about *Whinchelſea*, for ſecuring that Town; and alſo he took another Ship full of Guns, Gunpowder, and other Inſtruments of War: With which Loſſes, and eſpecialy by the adverſneſs of the Winds, which from the beginning of *Auguſt* to *Alhallontide*, ſtood full in their Teeth, ſo that their Ships could not come out, and their *Victuals* and *proviſions*, by lying all that time, being ſpent, they were diſcouraged from proſecuting the Enterprize, and nothing was effected.

And now King *Richard* every day more and more entring upon the *Confines* of his *Deſtiny*, as if he had not done enough in making his *Minion* Marqueſs of *Dublin*, Creates him Duke of *Ireland*, and would (ſays *Walſingham*) had Fortune favor'd his *Wiſhes*, have gone on to make him a *King*; ſo ſtrangely was he bewiſch'd to him, and ſo exceſſively he doted on him; *Non ſine nota* (*ut fertur*) *familiaritatis obſcœnæ*, which I forbear to engliſh out of Reſpect to *Royal Majeſty*, as being willing to think it a *fulſom Imagination* of that *Monk* that writes it, rather than charge an *Engliſh Prince* with ſuch a *deteſtable ſuſpicion*: But this *undeſerved Honour*, together with the *Exorbitancies* of *Michael de Pole*, and other *Publick Miſcarriages* had made no ſmall *Impreſſions* on the *Minds* of many of the *Peers* of the Land, as well as the *Commons*.

On *Monday* the morrow after the Feaſt of S. *Jerom*, the *King* held a *Parliament* at *Weſtminſter*, which ended on the Feaſt of S. *Andrew*; the Proceedings

ceedings whereof *Henry Knyghton* (who lived at that very time) Relates as follows:

'[P. 2680.] The King (saith he) for the most 'part staid lingering at *Eltham* whilest the Parliament 'sate; the nobles therefore of the Realm, 'and the Commons with joynt Assent, sent this 'Message to the King; *That the Chancelor and 'Treasurer ought to be removed from their Offices, 'because they were not for the good of the King and 'Kingdom, and because also they had such matters 'to treat of with* Michael de Pole, *as could not be 'treated of whilest he remain'd in the Office of Chancellor.* The King hereat incensed, return'd his 'Command, *That they should mention no more those 'things, but that they should proceed to the Business 'of* Parliament, *and hasten to a conclusion*; adding, 'That he would not for them, or at their instance, re-'move the meanest Scullion boy in his Kitchin out of 'his place. For the Chancelor in the Name of the 'King, had desired of the *Commons* Four Fifteenths 'to be paid in one year, and as many Tenths from 'the *Clergy*; alledging that the King was so 'much in debt, that he could not otherwise be 'freed from his Debts and other Burdens lying 'upon him, as well upon the account of war, as 'of his Houshold and other Charges; But they 'by joynt Assent of *Lords* and *Commons*, returned 'this Answer to the King; *That they neither could, 'nor by any means would proceed in any Business of 'Parliament nor dispatch so much as the least Article, 'till the King should come and shew himself in his own 'Person amongst them, and remove the said* Michael 'de Pole *from his office.* Upon which the King 'sent back this Command to them, *That they*

'should

'*ſhould order Forty Knights of the moſt ſubſtantial*
'*and wiſeſt of the Commons to come unto him, and*
'*declare the Votes of all the reſt.* But then were
'they more afraid, every man for his own ſafety:
'For a ſecret Rumor had privately come to their
'Ears, That the death of theſe Forty was deſign'd
'by Treachery. For it was ſaid, *as appeared after-*
'*wards unto them*, That as theſe ſhould be going
'to ſpeak with the King, a multitude of Armed
'Men ſhould *ſet upon and murther them:* Or that
'being invited to a Feaſt by the King, ſome Ar-
'med Ruffians ſhould ruſh in upon them and kill
'them, or that they ſhould be murther'd in an in-
'ſtant in their *Lodgings* in *London.* But *Nicolas*
'*de Exon* Mayor of that City refuſing, and by no
'meanes conſenting to ſo great a *wickedneſs* the
'Villany was deſerr'd, and the curſed Contri-
'vance by degrees brought to light. Making uſe
'therefore of wholſom Advice, they by common
'conſent of the whole *Parliament*, ſent the Lord
'*Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, and
'*Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, to the King at
'*Eltham*, That they ſhould on the behalf of the
'Lords and Commons of his *Parliament*, Salute
'him, and deliver their Votes or deſires to him,
'under ſuch a Form or Senſe of words.

'Sir King! *The Prelates Lords, and whole Peo-*
'*ple of the Commons in Parliament, with moſt humble*
'*ſubmiſſion recommend themſelves to the moſt Ex-*
'*cellent* [the word is wanting in
'our Author] *of your Royal Dignity, wiſhing you*
'*a ſucceſsful Courſe of Honour, and invincible a-*
'*gainſt the power of your Enemies, and the moſt firm*

'*Band*

'Band of Peace and hearty Love towards your
'Subjects, as well for the increase of your own good
'and advantage, in respect of God and the Salvation
'of your Soul, as for the unspeakable comfort of all
'the People which you govern. On whose behalf we
'intimate these things unto you.

'That we have it [Settled, Granted, or Con-
'firmed] by ancient Constitution, by a Custom lau-
'dable and approved, and which none can gain-say or
'contradict, That the King can Assemble the Lords,
'Nobles and Commons of the Kingdom once a year
'unto his Parliament, as the highest Court of the
'Realm, in which all Equity ought to shine bright
'without any scruple or spot, clear as the Sun when
'ascending to the Meridian; where as well Poor as
'Rich may find a never failing Shelter for their Re-
'freshment, by restoring Tranquility and Peace, and
'removing all Kind of injuries, where publick Grie-
'vances or Errors are to be redress'd; where, with the
'most prudent Councill, the state and Goverment of
'the Kingdom is to be treated of: That the King and
'Nations Foes within, and their Enemies abroad, may
'be discovered, and repulsed by such means as most
'conveniently and honourably it may be done; and
'also with wholsom deliberation therein to fore see and
'order how the necessary Burdens of the King and
'Kingdom may with most ease (the publick Want
'considered) be supplied: And they conceive also, that
'since they are to support publick Charges incumbent,
'they should have the Supervisal too how and by whom
'their Goods and Fortunes are expended. They say
'moreover, that this is their Privilege by ancient
'Constitution, that if the King wilfully estrange him-
'self from his Parliament, no Infirmity or necessary

Cause

'*Cause disabling him, but obstinately by his ungovern-*
'*able Will, shall withdraw himself, and be absent*
'*from them the time of Forty days, as not regarding*
'*the vexation of his People, nor their grievous Ex-*
'*pences; That then from that time it shall be or is*
'*lawfull for all and every of them, without any da-*
'*mage from the King, to go home, and every one re-*
'*turn into his own Country. And* Now, *You for a*
'*longer time have absented* Your Self, *and for what*
'*Cause they know not, have refus'd to come amongst*
'*them.*

To this, *the King.*

'Now do We plainly discover, that our
'People and the Commons intend to
'resist, and are endeavouring to make In-
'surrections against us; and in such case
'nothing seems better to us, than to [call
'in] our Kinsman the King of *France*, and
'from him to ask Advice and Aid; nay
'even to submit Our Self to him, rather
'than to Truckle to our own Subjects.

To which they answered thus.

'*This Council is not safe for You, but rather*
'*tends to inevitable destruction; For the King*
'*of* France *is your Capital Enemy, and the much*
'*greatest Adversary to your Kingdom, and if he*
'*should*

'should once get footing on your Land, would sooner
'endeavour to dispoil you of it, to invade your King-
'dom, and to drive you from your Throne, than
'in the left to lend you his assisting hand, if at any
'time (which God forbid) you should stand in need
'thereof: Rather therefore recall to your Memory
'how your Grandfather King Edward the Third,
'and in like manner your Father, a Prince of the
'same Name and Renown, with Sweat and Hazards
'during their whole Lives, through innumerable La-
'bors indefatigably contended for the conquest of the
'Kingdom of France, which by hereditary Right ap-
'pertained to them, and after them to you by Succes-
'sion. Remember, how many of the Nobles, what
'innumerable Troops of the Commons of England, as
'well as those of France lost their Lives, and under-
'went the peril of Death in that Quarrel: Remem-
'ber the inestimable Treasures the People of England
'freely parted with for the maintanance of that War.
'And yet what is more to be lamented, they have
'in your time sustained so many Taxes for the support
'of your Wars, as that now they are reduced to such
'incredible Poverty, that they can neither pay their
'Rents for their Livings, nor assist their King, nor
'afford themselves even the Necessaries of Life. Thus
'The Royal Power is impoverished, and an unhappy
'condition brought upon all Great Men and Nobles
'of the Kingdom, as well as the Commons weakned and
'undone; For a King cannot be poor that has a rich
'People, nor that King be rich whose Subjects are
'Poor. Nor do these Ills redound alone to the King, but
'to all the Nobility and Great Men, every one in his
'Rank and degree. And all this is brought to pass by
'the evil Ministers of the King, who have ill-Governed

'both

both King *and* Kingdom *to this day; and unless we do quickly set our helping hands to the Work and raise the healing Prop, the Kingdom of* England, *will in less time then we think of, be miserably subverted.*

'But there is yet one part more of our 'Message remaining on the behalf of your 'People to be imparted to you, **That** we 'have an ancient Constitution, and it was 'not many Ages since experimented; it 'grieves us that we must mention it, That 'if the King through any evil Council 'whatever, or through a weak Obstinacy 'or Contempt of his People, a perverse fro-'ward Will or irregular Course, shall alie-'nate himself from his People, and refuse to 'Govern by the Laws and Statutes of the 'Realm, by the laudable Ordinances and 'and faithful Advice, If he shall throw him-'self headlong into wild Designs, and stub-'bornly exercise his own singular Arbitra-'ry Will; That from that time it shall be 'lawful for his People by their full and 'free Assent and Consent, to Depose that 'King from his Throne, and to establish 'some other of the Royal Stock upon the 'same in his stead. Which grievous and 'unhappy Dissention, That it may never 'spring up amongst your People; That 'your People by no such lamentable Divi-'sions (pleasing only to your Enemies) may 'ever through your evil Counsellors be sub-

vered,

'verted. That this Kingdom ſo honoura-
'ble, and above all the Nations in the
'World, from your Fathers days hitherto,
'moſt famious in War, may not now in
'your time (through the Diſtractions of
'ill Goverment) he miſerably laid waſte:
'That the Title and Inſcription of theſe
'Miſeries may never be placed as a ſcanda-
'lous Mark upon your Reign and this un-
'happy Age. Recal we beſeech you, your
'Royal Mind from ſuch fooliſh and perni-
'cious Councils; and whatſoever they are
'that ſuggeſt ſuch matters to you, do not
'only not hearken to them, but totaly re-
'move them from you: for in a time of
'danger it will be found, that they can no
'ways effectual ſerve you. *&c.*

By theſe and ſuch kind of Speeches, the King laying aſide his Anger, was reduced to a better Temper, and being pacified, promiſed, That after Three days he would come to the *Parliament*, and with *Mature Advice* willingly Acquieſce to their *Petitions*. The *King* then came as he had promiſed, and *John de Fortham* Biſhop of *Durham* was removed from the Office of *Treaſurer*, and the Biſhop of *Hereford* made *Treaſurer*: The Lord *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk* was with *much diſgrace* turn'd out of the *Office* of *Chancelor*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely* by Conſent of *Parliament* put in his ſtead.

And ſometime afterward the ſaid *Michael de Pole* was Impeached of ſeveral *High Crimes* and *Miſdemeanors* by the *Commons*, as follows. *They*

The Impeachment or Articles made by the Commons *in full* Parliament *againſt* Michael de Pole *Earl of* Suffolk, *late Chancellor of* England, *in the Term of S.* Michael, *in the Tenth Year of the King; and the* Judgment *upon them following, from Point to Point.*

'IMprimis, That the ſaid Earl being *Chancellor*, and *Sworn* to Act for the juſt Profit of the *King*, hath *Purchaſed* of Our Lord the King, Lands, Tenements, and Rents to a great Value, as appears by the Record-Rolls of the *Chancery*: And againſt his Oath, not regarding the great Neceſſity of the *King* and *Realm*, being *Chancellor* at the time of ſuch *Purchaſe* made, did cauſe the ſaid Lands and Tenements to be Extended at a much *ſmaller value* than really they were worth by the year, and thereby deceiv'd the King.

'*And for that he purchaſed the ſaid Lands when he was* Chancellor, *againſt his Oath, the* King ſhall have the ſaid Lands again intirely, *and the ſaid*

'*Earl ſhall make* Fine and Ranſom *to* '*the King, with all Profits received ſince* '*the Purchaſe.*

2. '*Item,* Whereas Nine Lords were Aſ-'ſigned by the laſt Parliament, to View 'and Examine the Eſtate of the King and 'Realm, and to deliver their Advice how 'the ſame might be Improved, Amended, 'and put into better Order & Governance, 'and thereupon ſuch Examination to be 'delivered to the King as well by Word of 'Mouth, as in Writing: The ſaid late 'Chancellor did ſay in full Parliament, 'That the ſaid Advice and Ordinance ſhould 'be put in due Execution; which yet was 'not done, and that by the default of him 'who was the principal Officer.

'*To this Article and the Third, and the* '*Seventh, the ſaid Earl ſhall anſwer, if* '*he have any thing to ſay againſt the* '*ſame in ſpecial.*

3. '*Item,* Whereas a Tax was granted 'by the Commons in the laſt Parliament, 'to be laid out in a certain Form demanded 'by the *Commons*, and aſſented to by the '*King* and *Lords*, and not otherwiſe; yet 'the Moneys thence ariſing, were expen-'ded

'ded in another manner: ſo that the Sea 'was not Guarded as it was ordered to 'have been; whence many Miſchiefs al-'ready have happen'd, and more are like to 'enſue to the Realm; and all this by the 'default of the ſaid late Chancellor.

4. '*Item*, Whereas the *Tydeman* of *Lim-'bergh* having to him and his Heirs of the 'Gift of the King's Grandfather Fifty 'pounds *per annum*, out of the Cuſtoms of '*Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, which the ſaid *Tyde-'man* forfeited to the King; and alſo the 'payment of the ſaid Fifty pounds *per an-'num* was diſcontinued for Five and thirty 'years and upwards: The ſaid Chancellor 'knowing the Premiſſes, purchaſed to him 'and his Heirs of the ſaid *Tydeman* the ſaid 'Fifty pounds *per annum*, and prevailed with 'the King to confirm the ſaid Purchaſe, 'whereas the King ought to have had the 'whole Profit.

'*For this Purchaſe the ſaid Earl was ad-'judged to Fine and Ranſom, and the ſaid 'Fifty pounds to go to the King and his 'Heirs, with the Mannor of* Flaxfleet, '*and Ten Marks of Rent which were ex-'chang'd*, &c. *with the Iſſues*, &c.

5. 'Whereas the high Maſter of S. *An-*
'*tony* is a *Schiſmatick*, and for that Cauſe
'the King ought to have the Profits which
'appertain to him in *England*; the ſaid late
'Chancellor, who ought to advance and
'procure the Profit of the King, took to
'Farm the ſaid Profits of the King at
'Twenty Marks *per annum*, and ſo got to
'his own uſe above a Thouſand Marks.
'And afterwards when the ſaid Maſter in
'*England* which now is, ought to have had
'the Poſſeſſion and Livery of the ſaid Pro-
'fits, he could not obtain the ſame, till he
'and two perſons with him became bound
'by Recognizance in Chancery, of Three
'thouſand pounds, to pay yearly to the
'ſaid Chancellor, and his Son *John* One
'hundred pounds for the term of their two
'Lives.

'*For which it is adjudged, That the King*
'*ſhall have all the Profits belonging to*
'*the ſaid S.* Anthony's *at the time of*
'*the Purchaſe; and that for the Recog-*
'*nizance ſo made, the ſaid Earl ſhall be*
'*Awarded to Priſon, and Fined and*
'*Ranſom'd at the pleaſure of the King.*

6. '*Item*, That in the time of the late
'*Chancellor* there were granted and made
'divers Charters and Patents of Pardon
'fo

'for Murders, Treaſons, Felonies, &c. a-
'gainſt the Laws: and before the Com-
'mencement of this preſent *Parliament*,
'there was made and ſealed a Charter of
'certain Franchiſes granted to the Caſtle of
'*Dover*, in Diſinheriſon of the Crown, and
'to the ſubverſion of the Pleas and Courts
'of the King, and of his Laws.

'*The King Awards that thoſe Charters be*
'*Repealed.*

7. 'Whereas by an Ordinance made in
'the laſt *Parliament*, that Ten thouſand
'Marks ſhould be raiſed for the Relief of the
'City of *Gaunt*; by the default of the ſaid
'late Chancellor, the ſaid City of *Gaunt*
'was loſt, and alſo a Thouſand Marks of
'the ſaid Money.

'*Upon all which Articles the Commons de-*
'*mand the Judgment of Parliament.*

W*Alſingham* tells us, That all theſe *Articles* were ſo fully *proved*, that *de Pole* could not deny them; inſomuch that when he ſtood upon his Anſwer, and had nothing to ſay for himſelf, the King Bluſhing for him, ſhook his Head, and ſaid, *Alas! alas*, Michael, *ſee what thou haſt done!* And when the King deſired a Supply, the Commons anſwered, *That he did not need the Tallage of his Subjects, who might ſo eaſily furniſh himſelf of ſo great a ſum of Money, from him who was his juſt*

Debtor. But at last, upon his Majesties yielding to have him turn'd out of the *Chancellorship*, and admitting the *Articles*, (which he was very unwilling to suffer) they freely gave him *half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth*; only providing, that it might be necessarily Expended: To which purpose it was to be deposited in the hands of the Earl of *Arundel*, who was then going to Sea with a Fleet, to secure the Coasts.

They likewise gave the *King* on every Pipe of Wine Imported or Exported, Three shillings; and on every Twenty shillings worth of all sorts of Merchandize Foreign or Domestick, brought in or carried out, one shilling; Wool, Hides, and Pelts, onely excepted. And also at the *King's* Instance granted, that the Heirs of *Charles de Bloys* should for *Thirty thousand Marks* be permitted to sell *Bretaigne* in *France* to the *French*, and that *Robert de Vere* the new Duke of *Ireland*, the *Kings* most dangerous Favourite, should have the said *Thirty thousand Marks*, (a prodigious sum of Money in those days) wholly to his own use; provided he would be gone before next *Easter* into *Ireland*, and there make use of it to recover the Dominions that the *King* hath given him in that Kingdom: so passionately did both Lords and Commons desire his *Absence*, that they would rather want so much Treasure, than have him here to Seduce and Infatuate the King. As for *Michael Pole*, he was committed to *Windsor*-castle.

Furthermore, the *Parliament* observing that by the Covetousness of the *King's Ministers*, the publick Revenue was *vainly consumed*, the *King* insufferably *defrauded* and *abused*, the Common

People

People of the Realm by continual and grievous Burdens miſerably impoveriſhed, the Rents and Profits of the Nobles and Great Men much impaired, and their poor Tenants in many places forc'd to abandon their *Husbandry*, and leave their Farms empty and deſolate: And yet ſtill by all theſe things the Kings Officers only becoming unmeaſurably *Rich*; They therefore choſe Fourteen Lords of the Realm, and gave them leave and power to Inquire into, Treat of, and Determine all Affairs, Cauſes, and Complaints ariſing from the Death of King *Edward* the Third, to that preſent time: As alſo of the King's Expences and his Miniſters, and all other matters whatſoever happening within the time to them Aſſigned; and cauſed the ſaid Lords ſo choſen to be *ſworn* on the *Holy Evangeliſts*, well and truly to regulate all Burdens and other Affairs incumbent on the King and Kingdom, and to *do Juſtice* to every one requiring the ſame, according to the Grace and Underſtanding given them by God. And alſo the *King took an Oath* to ſtand to their *Ordination*, and to encourage them in their *Actings*, and *not to revoke any Article of their Power*, but to confirm and hold good and ſtable whatſoever the ſaid Counſellors ſhould do or order during ſuch time; of whom Six, with the Three Officers of the King appointed by conſent of *Parliament*, viz. The *Chancellor*, the *Treaſurer*, and the *Lord Privy Seal*, ſhould at any time make a *Quorum*. And it was alſo *Ordained by Act of Parliament*, That if any one ſhould Adviſe the *King* to make any *Revocation* of their Power, though the *King* ſhould not *Revoke* it, yet the Perſon probably

Convicted only of ſuch ill Counſel, ſhould for the ſame forfeit all his Lands and Goods; and if he attempt it a ſecond time, be drawn and hang'd as a Traytor.

Whereupon the King iſſued forth his *Commiſſion* under the *Great Seal of England*, Confirming the ſaid Lords in ſuch power, in the words following; Tranſlated from the *Original French.*

RIchard, *King*, &c. *To all thoſe to whom theſe Letters ſhall come to be ſeen or heard, Greeting. We being duly Conſcious of the grievous Complaints of the Lords and Commons of our Realm in this preſent* Parliament *Aſſembled, That our Profits and Rents, and the Revenues of our Realm, by private and inſufficient Council, and the Ill-governance as well of certain our late Great Officers, as of divers other perſons being near Our Perſon, are ſo much conſumed, waſted, embeziled, given away, granted, and aliened, deſtroyed, and evilly diſpoſed of and expended; That We are ſo much impoveriſhed and ſtript of Treaſure and Means, and the Subſtance of Our Crown ſo diminiſhed and deſtroyed, that We are neither able to Suſtain Honourably as We ought the State of Our* Houſhold, *nor maintain and manage thoſe* Wars *wherewith Our Realm is Environ'd, without great and outragious Oppreſſions and Charges on Our People greater than they can bear: And alſo that the*

good

good Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms *of Our ſaid Realm, to which we are* bound by Oath, *and obliged to maintain, are not, nor have been duly obſerved nor executed, nor* full Juſtice *or* Right *done to Our ſaid People; but many* Diſinheriſons *and other moſt great Miſchiefs and and Damages have happened, as well to Us, as to our People and whole Realm.*

Now We, for the Honour of God, and for the good of Us and our Realm, and for the quiet and relief of Our People, willing againſt the ſaid Miſchiefs to eſtabliſh a good and meet Remedy, as We have already of Our free Will, at the Requeſt of the Lords and Commons Ordained and Aſſigned ſuch Perſons for Our great Officers, that is to ſay, Our Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of Our Privy Seal, *as We eſteem good, faithful, and ſufficient for the Honour and Profit of Us and Our ſaid Realm; ſo alſo of Our real Authority, certain knowledge, good pleaſure, and free will, and by the Advice and Aſſent of the* Prelates, Lords, *and* Commons *in full* Parliament, *in Aid of the good Governance of Our Realm, and the well and due execution of Our Laws, & for the Relief in time of that miſerable Condition under which both We and Our Subjects have long labour'd, having full confidence in the good Advice, Senſe, and Diſcretion of the moſt Honour-*

able

able Fathers in God, William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Alexander *Archbiſhop of* York; *Our moſt dear Uncles,* Edmund *Duke of* York, *and* Thomas *Duke of* Glouceſter; *the Honourable Fathers in God,* William *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Thomas *Biſhop of* Exeter, *and* Nicholas *Abbot of* Waltham; *Our beloved and faithful* Richard *Earl of* Arundel, John *Lord* Cobham, Richard le Scroop, *and* John Devereux, **Have** *Ordained, Aſſigned, and Deputed, and do Ordain, Aſſigne, and Depute them to be of Our* Great and Continual Council, *for One whole Year next after the Date hereof, to Survey and Examine, together with our ſaid Great Officers, as well the Eſtate, Condition, and Government of Our whole Realm, and of all Our Officers and Miniſters of whatever Eſtate, Degree, or Condition they be, within Our Houſhold or without; and to Inquire and take Information by all ſuch ways as they ſhall think meet, of all Rents, Revenues, and Profits belonging to us, or which are due and ought to appertain to us either within the Realm or without: And of all Gifts, Grants, Alienations, and Confirmations by Us made, of any Lands, Tenements, Rents, Annuities, Profits, Revenues, Wards, Marriages, Eſcheats, Forfeitures, Franchiſes, Liberties, Voidances of Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbeys*

Abbeys, Priories, Farms of Houſes, Poſſeſſions of Aliens, &c. *And alſo of all Revenues and Profits, as well of Our ſaid Realm, as of Our Lands, Lordſhips, Cities, Villages, and other Poſſeſſions beyond the Sea; and of the Benefices and Poſſeſſions, and other Revenues of all that are in Rebellion againſt the Pope: And of the carrying Moneys out of the Realm by the Collectors of the Pope, or the Procurators of Cardinals, Lumbards, or other perſons; And likewiſe of the Profits of Our Cuſtoms, and all Subſidies granted to Us by the* Clergy *and* Laity, *ſince the day of Our Coronation, to that time: And of all Fees, Wages, and Rewards of Our Officers and Miniſters great and ſmall, and of* Annuities *and other Rewards granted, and Gifts made to any perſons in Fee or for term of Life, or in any other manner: And of Lands, Tenements, Rents, Revenues, and Forfeitures, bargained or* ſold to the prejudice and damage of Our Crown: *And alſo touching the Jewels and Goods which were Our Grandfathers at the time of his Death, and of Charters and General Pardons; and how General* Payments *have been levied and expended; how* Garriſons *and* Forts *have been maintained: And of all Defaults and Miſpriſions as well in Our Houſhold, as in our Courts, and all other places of Our Realm: And by what perſons Our*

Revenues

Revenues and the ſubſtance of Our Crown have been withdrawn or diminiſhed, or the Common Law interrupted *or* delayed, *or any other Damage that hath happened to Us.* **Giving,** *and by theſe Preſents Granting, of Our Authority, and by the Advice and Aſſent of Our ſaid Subjects, unto Our ſaid Counſellors, or any Six of them, and to Our Great Officers aforeſaid, full Power and Authority, General and Special, to enter Our Palace and Houſhold, and to call before them all Our Officers, and to command all Rolls, Records, and other Minuments and Evidences; and all Defaults, Waſtes, and Exceſſes found in Our ſaid Houſhold, and in other Courts and Places; and all Deceits, Extortions, Oppreſſions, Damages, and Grievances whatſoever, that are to the prejudice, damage, and diſtreſs of Us and Our Crown, and the Eſtate of Our ſaid Realm in general, (though not herein particularly expreſſed or ſpecified) To Amend, Correct, Repair, Redreſs, Reform, and put into good and due Order and Eſtabliſhment: And alſo to hear and receive the Complaints of all Our Liege People, as well for Us and themſelves, againſt our ſaid Officers and Counſellors: And all Oppreſſions, Wrongs, and Injuries, which cannot ſo well be amended and determined in the Courts of the* Common Law: *And to diſcuſs and finally determine*

all

all the Matters aforeſaid, and full Execution thereof to Award, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt meet, for the Honour and Profits of Us & Our Eſtate, and the Redintegration of the Rights and Profits of Our Crown, and the better Governance of the Peace and Laws of Our Kingdom, and the Relief of Our ſaid People. In which Proceedings, if difference of Opinion happen amongſt Our ſaid Counſellors, the ſame ſhall be concluded by Majority of Votes. And We Command and Charge all Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, the Treaſurer, and Controller, and all other Officers of Our Houſhold, Juſtices de Banco, *and other Officers, Miniſters, and Liege Subjects whatſoever, That to Our ſaid Counſellors and Officers in manner aforeſaid, they be Obedient, Aiding, and Aſſiſting.* **In Witneſs whereof,** &c. Given under Our Great Seal the 19*th* day of *November*.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe *Proviſions*, no ſooner was the *Parliament* Diſſolv'd, but the *King* look'd upon all they had done to be *Diſſolved* likewiſe; or at leaſt *De facto* he eſteem'd as nothing all their Complaints againſt *de Pole*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the reſt; for he ſoon received them into *greater Favour and Confidence* (if it might be) than ever before: Who being full of *Revenge* themſelves, were not wanting to blow their *Poyſon* into his Royal

Royal Breaſt; for thus their fatal Whiſpers and Suggeſtions are expreſt by *Truſſel*, in his *Continuation of* Daniel's *Hiſtory of* England, *Fol. 9.* —— *Theſe Triumvirs* (ſaith he) *incenſed the King againſt the Nobles that were beſt deſerving, partly upon Diſgraces deſertfully done unto them; partly upon malicious Emulation to ſee others ſo generally Belov'd, (except of the King) and themſelves ſo Contemptible. And that their private Spleen might carry ſome ſhew of Publick Reſpect, they ſuggeſted to the King, he was but half, yea, not half a King: For* (ſaid they) *If we reſpect matters of State, you bear the* Sword, *but they* ſway *it; you have the* Shew, *but they have the* Authority *of a* Prince; *uſing your Name as a colourable Pretext to their Proceedings, and your Perſon as a* Cypher *to make their Number the greater by the Addition thereof, without which they could be nothing; neither are you any thing* more *by being ſo placed. Look to the Duty of your* Subjects, *and you ſhall finde it is at their Devotion: For you cannot* Command *nor* Demand, *but with ſuch Limitations and Exceptions as they pleaſe to propoſe. And for your private Actions, your Bounty (the moſt to be Celebrated Vertue in a Prince) is reſtrained, your Expences meaſured, and your Affections confined, to Frown or Favour, as they ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe you. What* Ward *is ſo much under Government of his* Guardian? *Wherein will, or can they more abridge you, except they ſhould take from you the Place, as they have done the Power of a Prince?* &c.

Thus theſe *Scycophants* whiſper'd their *venomous Suggeſtions* to *exaſperate* the *King* againſt his beſt Subjects,

Subjects, whose *Youth* and *Weakness* rendred him too much disposed for such Impressions, and framed his conscious Mind to a full but *needless fear*. He was much incensed at the Removal of his *Chancellor* and *Treasurer* out of their *Offices*, and that the Duke of *Ireland* (rather than part with whom he would hazard All) must go out of the *Realm*; supposing it a Restraint to his *Regal Authority*, not to have *Absolute Power* in all things, to *give* and *forgive* at his pleasure.

Now when these private Incendiaries perceived the King's Humour once *sharpned*, they so ply'd him with plausible perswasions, that (though naturally he was not of any *cruel Disposition*) yet they drew him into many *violent* and *indirect courses*, partly through *negligence* to search out the Truth, partly through delight to be flattered, and a vain resolute humour to support those beyond *Reason*, whom he had Advanced without *Merit*.

In the beginning of *March*, 1387. the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham* (pursuant to the *Order* of the late *Parliament*) put to Sea with a Fleet, which they manag'd with such Courage and Conduct, that before *Midsummer-day* (besides other famous Exploits) they had taken about One hundred and sixty *French Ships* richly laden: But the *Court-Ear-wigs*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest, enviously *misrepresented* all their *Services* unto the King, whispering, That they had onely undone a few Merchants, which it would have been more for our Honour and Interest to have let alone; so that at their Return, instead of *Respect* and *Thanks*, the King (whose equal *unhappiness* it was to grace

unde-

undeserving men, and *disgrace* the *deserving*) lookt upon them but *ill*; and the Duke of *Ireland* would not look upon them at all: Whereupon the Earls in *discontent* retir'd from Court to their own Country-houses.

And still more to exasperate both Nobles and People, the said Duke of *Ireland* would now needs be divorced from his Wife *Philippa* (Granddaughter to King *Edward* the Third, by his Daughter *Isabel* and the Arch-Duke of *Austria*) a Lady of sufficient Beauty, and irreproachable Vertue; and in her stead preferred to his Bed one *Lancerona*, a mean *Bohemian* that waited on the Queen, Daughter (some say) of a *Wintner*, or (as others will have it) of a *Joyner*. The King took no notice of this Affront offered to his *Cousin-german*, but the Duke of *Glouceſter* her Uncle resented it highly, and waited for an opportunity to Revenge it; which the other well perceived, and was resolved to *strike first*. *Easter* was now come and past, the time limitted by *Parliament* for the Duke of *Ireland*'s being *gone*; but he (though so largely hired to it as aforesaid) cared not for that *Voyage*; Onely to *wheadle* the People, the King went down with him into *Wales*, on pretence of seeing him take *Shipping*, but in truth, that being there remote, they might more securely consult how to circumvent and destroy the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and other faithful Subjects of the Kingdom: For there were with the King, *Michael de la Pole*, *Treſylian* the Chief Justice, and many others that were conscious of their own Deserts, and feared to be brought to Justice, as well as the said

ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, and therefore readily conſpired with him againſt the Lords. Having thus laid their Plot, and agreed the manner of putting it in execution, back comes the King to *Nottingham*, and as if *Ireland*'s Voyage had been *quite forgot*, brings him and the reſt of the *Cabal* with him. Thither they ſummon divers *Citizens* of *London*, the *Sheriffs* of the ſeveral Counties, and all the *Judges* of *England*. The *Londoners*, becauſe ſeveral of them having lately confeſſed themſelves guilty of Treaſon, had been *pardoned* by the King, were call'd; that in return of that Favour, they might *accuſe* the Lords of ſuch Crimes as the King with his Counſellors in *Wales* had *contrived againſt them*. The *Sheriffs* were adviſed with, what *Forces* they could raiſe for the Kings Service againſt the Barons; and alſo commanded, that they ſhould not permit any to be returned as *Knights of the Shire*, or *Burgeſſes for the next Parliament*, *but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould direct*, *or nominate*: To which the Sheriffs reply'd, That the Commons generally favoured the ſaid Lords, ſo that it was not in their power to raiſe an Army in this Caſe; and as *for Parliament-men*, *the People would hold their ancient Cuſtoms*, which require that they be *freely choſen by the Commons*: Nor could the ſame be hindered. Theſe Anſwers were not very agreeable to the Court-deſignes. But the *Judges* were more compliant; for not onely *Treſylian* the *Chief Juſtice* had about the ſame time *indicted two thouſand perſons* at *Coventry*, and he and *John Blake* an *Apprentice of the Law*, peruſed and approved under their Seals, the *Indictment* againſt the Lords; but

alſo the better to colour Proceedings with a Form of Law, ſeveral *Queſtions* were propounded to them touching the late *Act of Parliament*, giving the fourteen Lords power to inſpect and puniſh miſcarriages of the Kings Miniſters as aforeſaid: To the end (as a * modern Author obſerves) *That what the Duke of* Ireland *and the reſt thought fit, might paſs for Law out of the Judges mouths; the Queſtions being ſo fram'd and propos'd, as it was eaſier to underſtand what the King would have to be Law, than what in truth was ſo.* For it ſeems they proceeded againſt their Conſciences, in that ſeveral of them, and particularly *Belknapp* Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, did (as *Knyghton*, *Col.* 2694. aſſures us) very earneſtly refuſe to ſigne the *Reſolutions*, till *Ireland* and *de Pole* forced him to it, by threatning him *to kill him* if he refuſed: Whereupon having put to his Seal, he burſt forth into theſe words before them, —— *Now want I nothing but a Ship, or a nimble Horſe, or an Halter to bring me to that death I deſerve: If I had not done this, I ſhould have been kill'd by your hands; and now I have gratified the Kings pleaſure and yours in doing it, I have well deſerv'd to die for Treaſon againſt the Nobles of the Land.*----Which laſt words were like to have prov'd fatally Prophetick; for not long after in the next *Parliament* he was indeed condemned to die, though not executed for the ſame. Some Authors ſay, That *all the Judges* of *England*, (except *William Skipwith* abſent by reaſon of ſickneſs) joyn'd in anſwering theſe Queſtions; which ſeems probable, becauſe they were afterwards all queſtion'd and puniſh'd for the ſame: yet in the

* Sir *W. Ch.* *p.* 247.

Record

Record there are but five named; possibly the others might consent, though only these set their Seals to it.

The Questions so proposed to the Judges, and their Answers, were as follow:

BE *it remembred, That on the* 25th *day of* August, *in the* 11th *year of the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, at the Castle of* Nottingham, *before our said Lord the King,* Robert Tresylian *Chief Justice of* England, *and* Robert Belknappe *Chief Justice of the* Common Bench *of our said Lord the King,* John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, *and* William de Burgh, *Knights, Justices, and Associates of the said* Rob. Belknappe, *and* John de Lokton *the* Kings Serjeant at Law, *in the presence of the Lords and other Witnesses under written, were personally required by our said Lord the King, on the* Faith and Allegiance *wherein to him the said King they are bound, to answer faithfully unto certain* Questions *here-under specified, and to them then and there truly recited, and upon the same to* declare the Law *according to their discretion;* Viz.

1. Imprimis, *It was demanded of them, Whether that* new Statute *and* Ordination, *and* Commission, *made and published in the last Parliament held at* Westminster, *be not derogatory to the* Royalty *and* Prerogative *of our said Lord the King?*

To which they unanimously answered, That the same

ſame are derogatory *thereunto*, *eſpecially becauſe they were againſt his* will.

2. Quæry *of them*, *How thoſe are to be* puniſhed *who* procured *that Statute and Commiſſion?*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That they were to be puniſhed with Death, *except the King would pardon them.*

3. Quæry *of them, How thoſe are to be puniſhed who* moved the *King to conſent to the making of the ſaid Statute?*

Whereunto they anſwered with one accord, That they ought to loſe their Lives, *unleſs his Majeſty would pardon them.*

4. *It was askt them, What puniſhment they deſerved who* compell'd, ſtreightned, *or* neceſſitated *the King to conſent to the making of the ſaid Statute and Commiſſion?*

To which they all anſwered, That they ought to ſuffer *as* Traytors.

5. Quæry *of them, How thoſe are to be puniſhed who* hindered *the King from exerciſing thoſe things which appertain to his Royalty and Prerogative?*

To which Queſtion they unanimouſly anſwered, That they are to be puniſhed as Traytors.

6. Quæry *of them, Whether after in a Parliament aſſembled, the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the cauſe of calling that Parliament, are by the Kings Command* declared, *and certain Articles limited by the King, upon which the Lords and Commons in that Parliament ought to proceed; if yet the ſaid*

Lords

Lords and Commons will proceed altogether upon other Articles, *and* Affairs, *and not at all upon thoſe limited and propoſed to them by the King, until the King ſhall have firſt anſwered them upon the Articles and Matters ſo by them ſtarted and expreſs'd, although the Kings* Command *be to the contrary*; whether *in ſuch caſe the King ought not to have the Governance of the Parliament, and effectually* over-rule *them, ſo as that they ought to proceed* firſt *on the Matters propoſed by the King: or, whether on the contrary, the Lords and Commons ought firſt to have the Kings Anſwer upon their Propoſals before they proceeded further?*

To which Queſtion they anſwered unanimouſly, that the King in that behalf has the Governance, and may appoint what ſhall be firſt handled, *and ſo gradually what next in all Matters to be treated of in* Parliament, *even to the end of the* Parliament: *And if any act contrary to the Kings pleaſure made known therein, they are to be puniſht as* Traytors.

7. Quæry *of them, whether the King when ever he pleaſes can* Diſſolve *the* Parliament, *and command the Lords and Commons to depart from thence, or not.*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That he can; and if any one ſhall then proceed in Parliament *againſt the Kings will, he is to be puniſht as a* Traytor.

8. Quæry *of them, Since the King can when ever he pleaſes* remove *any of his* Judges *and* Officers, *and juſtifie or puniſh them for their Offences; Whether*

the Lords and Commons can without the will of the King Impeach *in* Parliament *any of the said* Judges *or* Officers *for any of their Offences.*

To which they unanimously answered, That they cannot; *and if any one should do so, he is to be punisht as a* Traytor.

9. Quæry *of them, How he is to be punisht who moved in* Parliament, *that the* Statute *should be sent for, whereby* Edward *the Second (the Kings great Grandfather) was proceeded against and deposed in* Parliament; *by means of sending for and imposing which* Statute, *the said late* Statute, Ordination, *and* Commission, *were* devised *and brought forth in* Parliament.

To which they answered, That as well he that so moved, *as he who by pretence of that* Motion *carried the said* Statute *to the* Parliament, *are* Traytors *and* Criminals *to be punished with Death.*

10. *It was demanded of them, Whether the* Judgment *given in the last* Parliament *held at* Westminster, *against* Michael de Pole *Earl of* Suffolk, *was* Erroneous *and* Revocable, *or not.*

To which Question *they unanimously answered, That if that* Judgment *were now to be given, they would not give it; because it seems to them, that the said* Judgment *is* Revocable, *as being* Erroneous *in* every part *of it.*

In Testimony of all which, the Judges and Serjeant aforesaid, to these Presents *have put their* Seals, *in the presence of the Reverend Lords*, Alexander *Arch-*

Archbiſhop of York, Robert *Archbiſhop of* Dublin, John *Biſhop of* Durham, Thomas *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *and* John *Biſhop of* Bangor, Robert *Duke of* Ireland, Michael *Earl of* Suffolk, John Rypon *Clerk*, *and* John Blake *Eſquire*: **Given the Place, Day, Month, and Year aforeſaid.**

But though they had thus reſolv'd the *Law* to their Minds, there was a greater Difficulty how to arm themſelves with *Power* enough for *Execution*. In order to which, they privately ſent abroad to *Levy Men*, but found them come in very *ſlowly*, becauſe the Lords were generally *beloved*, and theſe Favourites of the King equally *hated*. Nor could they manage their Deſigns with ſuch *ſecrecy*, but the Lords had notice; whereupon, to take off all ill Impreſſions made againſt them in the Kings Mind, his Uncle the Duke of *Glouceſter* (chief of the Lords againſt whom the Courtiers had combin'd) voluntarily before the Biſhop of *London*, and many Nobles of the Realm, did make Oath, *That he had never imagined any thing to the prejudice of the King, but had ſtudied and performed to his power, what tended to the Kings Honour and Advantage, and what alſo was well pleaſing to him; except only that he could not kindly regard the Duke of* Ireland, *whom the King immoderately lov'd, and who had diſhonoured one that was not only a near Relation of him the ſaid Duke of* Glouceſter, *but alſo of the King's, which it was fit ſhould be reveng'd*, &c.

With the Contents of which Oath, the Biſhop acquainted the King, who ſeem'd inclinable to

credit the ſame; till *Michael de Pole* began to exaſperate him againſt the Duke: To whom the Biſhop ſmartly reply'd,------*Be ſilent, Sir, it becomes not you to talk, who ſtand condemned in Parliament, and are now alive only by the Kings Grace and Favour.* Which ſo offended the King, that he commanded the Biſhop out of his preſence, bidding him be gon home *to his Church*; who at his return inform'd the Duke what had paſs'd, and how much the King was *ſway'd* by thoſe wicked Councellors: So that it was high time for him to *provide* for his own ſafety, and obviate that deſtruction which was prepared for him.

Hereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*, (who were all deſigned to the ſame Condemnation, if not prevented) adviſing together, reſolve to ſtand upon their *Guard*, and Treat with the King concerning the premiſſes, and that favour which he afforded to them, who were *Traytors* both to him and the publick, and the *imminent hazard* of the Kingdom thence ariſing. The King endeavoured to have ſurprized them *ſingly*, before they had united their Retinues, but failed therein; ſo that with a very conſiderable force they aſſembled together at *Haryngey-Park*. The King was juſt then preparing (as it was ſaid) for a Journey to *Canterbury*, to pay, as was pretended, his Devotions at the *Shrine* of S. *Thomas Becket*, but indeed from thence to have paſs'd into *France*, and delivered up to the *French* King *Calice*, and ſeveral other important Places, which by the *fatal Counſel* of his *pernicious Flatterers*, he had ſold unto that King. But this News of the Lords being in Arms, diverted that

Voyage,

Voyage, and put King *Richard* into great Confusion, not knowing what measures to take: Some of those about him were for *reconciling* the Lords with *fair promises*; others were for raising the *Londoners*, and what other *Forces* could be procured, and *fighting* them; of which opinion especially was the Bishop of *York*: But this the more prudent *disapproved*, alledging the Dishonour and Damage would accrue to the King if worsted.

Whilst these *wise men* could not agree what course to take, there was a *Fool* stumbled on an *Expression*, which if duly considered, might have done the King more *Service* than all their *Debates*: This was a certain Knight called *Hugh de Lynne*, who had been bred in the Wars, but by an accident lost his Understanding, and now as a *Natural* was maintained by the Charity of several of the Nobles and Retainers to the Court: The King meeting him during these Consultations, and being willing to divert himself by hearing his foolish discourse, askt him jocularly, *What he should do with the Lords that were Assembled together in the before-mentioned Park.* To which the said *Hugh* very melancholy answered,-----*March forth, Sir! and let us fall upon them, and kill every Mothers Son of them: which being done, by God's Eye, you will gallantly have destroyed all the faithful Subjects you have in your Kingdom.*

In the mean time, *Mediators* for Peace posting to and fro between the King and the Lords; it was at last by their Intercession concluded, that the Lords should come before the King at *Westminster*, and receive the Kings Answer to their Grie-

Grievances: The Biſhop of *Ely* and divers other perſons of Honour and Credit, giving their Oaths on the Kings behalf, *That no Treachery or ill practice ſhould be uſed, but that they might come and go with ſafety; and if any were deſigned, that they would admoniſh them of it.* A Caution that in the Event proved not *unneceſſary:* For on the day they ſhould appear, they had Intelligence that there was an *Ambuſcade* laid for them about the *Mews*; whereupon they delayed their coming; and the King (who had waited an hour or two for them beyond the time appointed) enquiring the reaſon, was told by the ſaid Biſhop of *Ely*, that it was becauſe he did not keep his word, for there was ſecretly planted above a thouſand Armed Men to *cut them off* in their paſſage. The King ſeemed much offended at this Treachery, and ſwore that he was not *privy* to it, and therefore commanded the Sheriffs of *London* to ſearch the *Mews*; and if they found any perſons aſſembled there for ſuch a purpoſe, to *kill* them. But in truth, the *Contrivance* was not there, but in a place at *Weſtminſter*, where Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber* had to this intent got together great numbers of their Faction in Arms, whom upon this diſcovery they diſmiſt, and retired into *London.* And now the King promiſing again *ſafe Conduct* to the Lords, they ſoon after arrived in his Royal preſence, whom they found in *Weſtminſter-Hall* in his Robes of State, and with his *Crown* on his *Head*, and *Scepter* in his hand; To whom they preſented themſelves on their *Knees*; and the Biſhop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor on the Kings behalf made a Speech, blaming them for their

their raiſing Forces, and demanding the Cauſe; withal, recommending the Kings *Goodneſs*, who choſe thus graciouſly to Treat with them, rather than to *Chaſtiſe* them by *Arms*; which he told them his Majeſty wanted not *power* eaſily to have done.

To this the Lords anſwered, That they had Aſſembled together for the *good of the King and Kingdom*, *and to remove Traytors from the King*: Naming particularly *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſylian* the falſe Chief Juſtice, and *Nicholas Bramber* the falſe Knight of *London*; whom they *averr'd to be Traitors*, and (flinging down their Gloves) that they were ready to *prove them to be ſuch by Battle*; [a manner of Tryal not unuſual in thoſe times.] To which the King himſelf anſwered, *That it ſhall not be determined in that manner*, *but in the next Parliament*, which We appoint to be the Morrow after the *Purification of the bleſſed Virgin* next; where both Parties coming, ſhould have Juſtice done according to Law; And in the mean time all of them to be in the Kings protection, without injuring one another.-----And ſo after ſome friendly Diſcourſe, and *Drinking* with the King, they departed thence. And two days after, the King (the more to appeaſe the Lords, and ſatisfie the people) cauſed *Proclamation* to be made in *London*, ſeeming in Excuſe of the Duke of *Glouceſter* and his Aſſociates, but indeed to amuſe them, and preſerve his dear *Favourites* from threatned *Violence*; the Tenour whereof was to this effect.

Richard,

Knyghton, Col. 2701.

RIchard, KING, &c. *We hereby make known to all our Liege and faithful Subjects throughout our whole Kingdom of* England, *That whereas* Tho. *Duke of* Glouceſter, Rich. *Earl of* Arundel, Tho. *Earl of* Warwick, *have been by certain perſons who little underſtood the truth of Affairs, Defamed as* Traytors *to Us and Our Kingdom; We therefore having as becomes us, with the higheſt Deliberation and greateſt Diligence weigh'd the cauſe of ſuch Scandal, and moſt diligently to our utmoſt Power, ſearching to the bottom for the Truth, with the aſſiſtance of our Council, do not finde any thing done or acted by them worthy of the blot of* Suſpicion, *much leſs any ſcruple of* Evidence *of their being* guilty: *Whereupon we have Decreed to declare the ſaid* Defamation *to be falſe, unjuſt, wicked, and wholy void of all* Truth: *And we do teſtifie the ſaid* Duke *and* Earls *to be worthy of* good Fame, *and Innocent, and not ſo much as* ſuſpected of any Crime; *and as much as in us lies, and as we are able, we will approve and maintain them ſo to be, and do take them hence-forwards into our* Special Protection. *Farthermore, We are willing to make known to all Perſons by theſe Preſents, who are their* Defamers; *Viz.* Alexander *Archbiſhop of* York,

York, Robert *Duke of* Ireland, Michael *Earl of* Suffolk; Robert Treſylyen *Our Chief Juſtice, and* Nicholas Brembre *of* London, *Kt, whom alſo We take into Our Protection, that they may Anſwer whatever ſhall be objected againſt them in Our next* Parliament, *Commanding that none on any pretence whatſoever, ſhall either to* Them, *or the forenamed Lords, openly or ſecretly, offer any kind of diſturbance, grievance, or obedience, till ſuch prefixt time of Our* Parliament.

But for all theſe *fair words*, the Popular Lords knowing the Kings *Mutability*, and as well the *Influence* thoſe his ill Counſellors had over him, as their malice and perfidiouſneſs, thought it the ſafeſt courſe not to *ſeparate* themſelves, but with a vigilant Eye to obſerve the *Motions* of *Affairs*.

The Duke of *Ireland* and the reſt accuſed, did not appear with the King at this Meeting, and 'twas their wiſeſt courſe to be abſent; for 'tis believ'd the Kings Preſence would ſcarce have been able to protect them: Nor had they any mind to hazard themſelves on the Juſtice of the next Parliament; but rather reſolv'd, if they could, to ſecure themſelves by Arms. To which purpoſe the Duke of *Ireland* was all this while raiſing of Men in *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, either by the Kings *Commiſſion* or *Connivance*; and that it was more than the *latter*, may juſtly be ſuſpected, becauſe when he had made conſiderable Levies, the King commanded *Thomas Molineux*, a man of great Courage and

and Conduct, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, to *accompany* and *ſafe conduct* the ſaid Duke with all *the Forces* he could make, to his Majeſties Preſence. The Adverſe Lords being *Advertis'd* of theſe Preparations, and that they were upon their *March*, beſet the Ways by which the Duke ſhould paſs to *London*, reſolving to encounter him before he ſhould have encreas'd his *Power*, and *countenanc'd* his *Actions* with the *Name* and *Preſence* of the *King*.

Accordingly *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, met them at a place called *Babbelake* near *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; whom the Duke no ſooner ſaw, but contrary to the Reſolution of moſt of thoſe that were with him, he prepared for *flight*; however *Molineux* prevailed with him to joyn *Battel*; but ſcarce *ten Ounces of Blood* was loſt on both ſides, before the Duke (who had been ſo good at *raiſing Quarrels*, ſhew'd himſelf as bad at *ſtinting* them, and) ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and *forſook the Field*; whereby all his Men being diſheartened, and Sir *Thomas Molineux* ſlain, the Earl of *Derby* obtain'd a *cheap*, but *intire* Victory, allay'd with nothing but the *eſcape* of *Ireland*; who having mounted a *fleet Nag*, and being to paſs a River, caſt away both Gauntlet and Sword to be the *lighter*, and ſo *ſwam* over, and got firſt into *Holland*; where finding but cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*; and after two or three years rambling up and down as a *Fugitive*, died at *Lovain* in *Brabant*. Though his *War-horſe* and *Armour* being found on the Brink of the River, raiſed a general Report that he was *Drown'd*; which probably might facilitate his eſcape.

escape. Amongst his Baggage was taken a very considerable sum of *Gold*, and (what was of greater value) *the Kings Letters*, ordering his present Repair to *London*, and promising *to live and die with him* against all Opposers.

But this *Disaster* Thunder-struck the whole *Cabal*; The Earl of *Suffolk* in disguise flies to *Calice*, where his own *Brother* being Governour of the Castle, refused to *harbour* him without the consent of the Lord *William Beauchamp* Governour of the Town, who return'd him back as a Prisoner into *England* to the *King*: But the King not onely let him go at *large*, but sent for over, and for some time *Committed* the said *Beauchamp* for such his honest diligence: The rather, 'tis supposed, because he had formerly, for the Kings *Interest*, thwarted his *pleasure*: for on the late Bargains and *private Intrigues* with *France*, King *Richard* having as aforesaid, sold *Calice* to the *French* King, sent a Knight with Letters under his *Privy-Signet*, commanding *Beauchamp* to deliver up the Town to him, and one Sir *John Golofre* with other Letters to the *French* King: but he knowing the vast *Importance* of the place, and believing the King *imposed* upon by wicked Councel, resolutely answered, *That the Custody and Government of the Town was committed to him in the Presence and by the Authority of the King and the Nobles of the Realm openly and publickly, and he would not surrender it in Huggermugger, nor part with his Command but in their presence.* And also he took *Golofre*'s Letters to the *French* King from him, and privately *transmitted* them to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. For which Affronts

Knyghton, Col. 2698.

fronts the King waited an opportunity to be reveng'd, and had proceeded 'tis thought more *severely*, but that the said *Beauchamp* was a person extreamly beloved, and the King was not at present in a condition to use rigours; and so by the Mediation of Friends he was quickly discharg'd.

The rest of the *hated Faction*, as the Archbishop of *York*, Justice *Tresylian*, and others, ran every man like Coneys to their *Covert*, and were not to be heard of: Nay the *King* betook himself to the *Tower* of *London*, and there made Provision for his Winter-Quarters; all his Designes being frustrated, first by *Rashness* in taking Arms, and afterwards by *Cowardise* in using them. And to adde to his *Confusion*, about the same time an *Envoy* from the *French* King was taken with Letters, whereby the *French* King Licens'd King *Richard*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and some others, with Attendants to such a number, to come into *Boloign*, where he would be ready to receive them with great *Pomp*, and from them receive the *Possession of* Calice, *and other strong Holds*; for which he had (says *Walsingham*, fol. 332.) *already paid King* Richard.

The Lords therefore perceiving such considerable Territories ready to be *lost* abroad, as well as Extravagancies practised at home, hasten'd their March first to S. *Albans*, and next to *London*, where with an Army of Forty thousand men, they Arrived on S. *Stephen*'s day; the Citizens furnishing them with Victuals; and whether more out of *Fear* or *Love*, I cannot say, offered to let them into the City; but they chose rather to quarter in the Suburbs, protesting not to depart without

personal

perſonal Conference with the King, which at laſt he granted; permitting them firſt to ſearch the *Tower*, to prevent any Surprize. The Duke and Earls then waited upon him, and after a few *cold Complements* laid before him, the Confederacy againſt their *Lives* at *Nottingham*, his Letters to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his *Royal Word*, together with his *diſhonourable Treaty to deliver up* Calice *to the* French King, *&c.* The King heard them at firſt with *ſilence* and *patience*, and afterwards with a dejected Countenance, and not without ſome *Tears*, ſeemed to acknowledge that he could neither *deny* or *juſtifie* what they complain'd of; and certainly the Stomachs of the Lords muſt needs more Relent to thoſe *luke-warm drops*, than they would to his greateſt violence. So *agreed it was*, that he would meet them next day at *Weſtminſter*, there to treat of theſe and other neceſſary Affairs of the Realm. But no ſooner were they gone, but ſome Abuſers of the *Royal Ear* ſuggeſted, that his going thither would be neither Honourable nor ſafe, but bring both his Perſon into *preſent danger* and *contempt*, and occaſion a future Abridgment of his Authority: Whereupon the Kings Mind turned, and began to *Retract* his promiſe. This heated the Lords ſo much, that being *fluſht* with opportunity and power, they ſent him peremptory word, *That if he did thus faulter with them, and would not appear to Conſult the good of the Realm, they would take other meaſures*: Intimating no leſs than the *Election of another*. This ſo work'd upon the King, that he was pleaſed to meet them, and to conſent (though not without ſome Reluctancy) that ſeveral of

his *Minions* ſhould be baniſht the Court; as *Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Friar *Ruſhook*, the Kings Confeſſor, and Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; (but both he and *York* had already ſhewed them a fair pair of Heels:) The Lords *Souch*, *Harinyworth*, *Burnel*, and *Beamont*; and ſeveral Knights, as Sir *Alberick Vere*, Sir *Balwyne Berefard*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Lovel*, &c. Together with certain Ladies, *Quæ non tantum inutiles, ſed infames*; Who were (ſaith *Walſingham*) *not only unneceſſary, uſeleſs, and unprofitable at Court, but likewiſe ſcandalous and infamous*: And theſe were the Lady *Morven*, the Lady *de Molyng*, and the Lady *Poynyngs*, Wife to the ſaid Sir *John Wotth*; who all were obliged to appear next *Parliament*. There were likewiſe actually taken into Cuſtody, Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, and divers other Knights; *Clifford*, *Lincoln*, and *Motford*, Clerks; *John Beauchamp de Holt* the Kings Steward, or *Privy-Purſe*, *Nicholas Lake* Dean of the Chappel, and *John Blake* Barriſter at Law, who were all diſpoſed in ſeveral *Caſtles*.

After *Candlemas*, 1388, the *Parliament* began at *London*, (though the King uſed many means to *daſh* or *defer* the ſame:) The Lords came attended with ſufficient Strength to ſuppreſs any *Rebellion*, or *Tumult* that might happen; and continued their Sitting till *Whitſuntide*, to the great *Fear* of ſome, *Hope* of others, and *Expectation* of all: Part of their *firſt Work* was for ſeveral days to *Summon* the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Treſylian* the Chief-Juſtice, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* Citizen

tizen of *London*, to anſwer to the *Treaſons* where-with they ſtood charged: but none of them appearing, they were all *Out-law'd*, and their *Lands* and *Goods* forfeited and *ſeized* into the Kings hands, with a *proviſion* by common conſent in Parliament that they ſhould never be *pardon'd* or permitted to appear again in *England*.

The Appeal *or* Charge *exhibited againſt them in Parliament tho'* long, *is yet remarkable; and not being extant in* Engliſh, *I ſhall ſo far preſume on the Reader's Patience, as to inſert it, Tranſlated from the Original, as we find it in* Knyghton *de* Eventibus Angliæ, Col. 2713. *as follows*, viz.

'TO our Moſt Excellent and redoubted Lord 'the *King*, and his *Council*, in this preſent 'Parliament, do ſhew *Tho.* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Con-'ſtable of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *Richard* 'Earl of *Arundel* and *Surry*, *Thomas* Earl of *War-'wick*, and *Tho.* Earl Marſhal; That whereas they 'the ſaid Duke and Earls, as Loyal Subjects of our 'Lord the King, for the profit of the King and 'Realm, on the Fourteenth day of *November* laſt 'paſt, at *Waltham-Croſs* in the County of *Hertford*, 'did before the moſt Reverend Fathers in God '*William* Biſhop of *Winchęſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, 'late Chancellour of *England*, *John Waltham*, then 'Lord Privy Seal, *John* Lord *Cobham*, the Lords '*Richard le Scrope*, and *John Denroſs*, then *Com-'miſſioners* of our Lord the King, Ordain'd and 'made in the laſt Parliament, Appeal [Accuſe or

'Charge] *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de Pole* 'Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſylian* the *falſe Juſtice*, 'and *Nicholas Brember* the falſe Knight of *London*, 'of ſeveral *High Treaſons* by them committed a-'gainſt the King and his Realm, and did offer to 'proſecute and maintain the ſame, and ſufficient 'Sureties to find, praying the ſaid Lords to *certifie* 'the ſame to their ſaid *Soveraign Lord*; which the 'ſame day the ſaid *Commiſſioners* did accordingly 'certifie to the King at *Weſtminſter*, where moſt of 'the ſaid perſons ſo *Appealed* being preſent, were 'fully informed and certified of ſuch *Appeal*.

'And whereas ſhortly after, by the Aſſent of 'the King and his *Counceil*, the ſaid *Thomas* Duke of 'Gloceſter, &c. coming to *Weſtminſter*, in preſence 'of the *King*, and of his *Council* there, for the pro-'fit of the *King* and his Realm, did *again Appeal* 'the ſaid Arch-biſhop of *York*, and other falſe Tray-'tors, his Companions, appealed of High Treaſons 'by them committed againſt the King and his 'Realm, as *Traytors* and *Enemies* to the King and 'Realm, in affirmance of their *former Appeal*, of-'fering to purſue and maintain it as aforeſaid. 'Which Appeal our Lord the King did *accept*, and 'thereupon aſſigned a day to the ſaid Parties at 'his firſt Parliament which ſhould be holden on the 'Morrow after *Candlemaſs* next inſuing, then to 'have & receive *full Juſtice* upon the ſaid Appeal; 'and in the mean time took into his ſafe and moſt 'ſpecial *protection* the ſaid Parties, with all their 'people, *Goods* and *Chattels*, and cauſed the ſame 'to be then proclaimed and publiſhed.

'And whereas alſo on *Monday* next after the day

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'of the Nativity of our Lord Chriſt next after, the 'ſaid Duke of *Glouceſter*,&c. in the preſence of the 'King, in the *Tower* of *London*, as Loyal Subjects of 'the King and his Realm,did appeal the ſaid Arch-'biſhop of *York*, &c. as falſe Traytors, *&c.* 'Whereupon the King aſſign'd them a day in the 'next Parliament to purſue and declare their Ap-'peal, and by the advice of his Council did cauſe '*Proclamation* to be made in all the Counties of '*England*, by Writs under his great Seal, *That all 'the ſaid perſons ſo Appealed, ſhould be at the ſaid 'Parliament to anſwer thereunto.* Which Appeal 'the ſaid Duke of *Glouceſter*,&c. the Appealors, are 'now ready to purſue, maintain, and declare, and 'do by theſe Preſents,as loyal Subjects of our Lord 'the King, for the profit of the King and Realm, '*Appeal* the ſaid Archbiſhop, *&c.* of *High Treaſons* 'by them committed againſt our Lord the King 'and his Realm, as Traytors and Enemies of both 'King and Kingdom; which Treaſons are decla-'red, and fully ſpecified in certain *Schedules* here-'unto annexed: and they do *pray* that the ſaid 'perſons *Appealed* may be *called*,and *Right* and *Ju-'ſtice* done in this preſent Parliament.

'Imprimis,*Thomas* Duke of *Glouceſter* Conſtable 'of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, &c. do Appeal 'and ſay, that *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Ro-'bert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, and *Michael de la 'Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, falſe Traytors to the King 'and Realm,ſeeing the *tender Age* of our ſaid Lord 'the *King*,and the Innocency of his Royal Perſon, 'have by many falſe Contrivances,by them with-'out *Loyalty* or *Good Faith* imagined and ſugge-'ſted, endeavoured wholly to *Ingroſs* his Majeſties

'Affection, and to make him intirely give Faith 'and Credence to what they ſhould ſay, though ne- 'ver ſo pernicious to himſelf and his Realm, and to 'hate his Loyal Lords and People, by whom he 'would *more faithfully* have been ſerved; Encroa- 'ching and aſſuming to themſelves a power to the 'endefranchiſing our Lord the King of his *So- 'veraignty*, and imparing his Royal Prerogative 'and Dignity, making him ſo far obey them, that 'he hath been *ſworn to be govern'd and counſel'd only 'by them*; by means of which *Oath*, and the power 'they have ſo trayterouſly uſurped, great inconve- 'niencies, miſchiefs, and deſtructions, have hapned, 'as by the ſubſequent Articles will appear.

2. '*Item*, Whereas the King is not bound to make 'any *Oath* to any of his Subjects, but on the day of 'his *Coronation*, or for the *common profit* of him and 'his Realm, the ſaid Biſhop, Duke, and Earl, falſe 'Traytors to the King and Realm, have made him '*ſwear and aſſent* to them, that he will *maintain and 'defend them*, and *live and die with them*. And ſo 'whereas the King ought to be of a *free* condition 'above any other in his Realm, they have brought 'him more into *Servitude* and *Bondage*, againſt his 'Honour, Eſtate, and Royalty, contrary to their 'Allegiance, and as Traytors unto him.

3. '*Item*, The ſaid Traytors, by the Aſſent and 'Councel of *Robert Treſylian* the falſe Juſtice, and '*Nicholas Brember* the falſe Knight of *London*, by 'their falſe Covin would not at all ſuffer the great 'Perſons of the Realm, nor the good Subjects of 'the King, to *ſpeak to*, or approach the King, to 'give him wholſome *advice*, nor the King to ſpeak 'to them, unleſs in the *preſence* and hearing of them

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'the said Duke of *Ireland*, &c. or two of them, at 'their will and pleasure, or about such things as 'they thought fit, to the great *disgrace* of the No- 'bles and good Counsellors of the King, and to the 'preventing of their good will and *service* towards 'the King, thereby encroaching to themselves the 'Royal power, and a Lordship and Soveraignty o- 'ver the person of the King, to the great *dishonour* 'and peril of the King, his Crown and Realm.

4. 'Item, The said Archbishop, &c. by such their 'false devices and *pernicious Councels*, have diverted 'the *King* from shewing *due countenance* to his great 'Lords and Liege People, so that they could not be '*answered* in their Suits and Rights, without the '*leave* of them the said Archbishop, &c. Thereby 'putting the King besides his *Devoir*, contrary to 'his *Oath*, contriving to *alienate* the Heart of our 'Lord the King from his *People*, that they might 'engross amongst themselves only the Government 'of the Realm; whereby they have caused our 'Lord the King, without the Assent of the Realm, 'or any *desert* in them, to have given away by their 'Abetment many Lordships, Castles, Towns, and 'Mannors, as well annexed to his Crown, as o- 'thers: As particularly the Land of *Ireland* and '*Okam*, with the Forest and Lands which did be- 'long to the Lord *Dandelegh*, and great quanti- 'ties of other Lands, to the said Duke of *Ireland*, 'and divers others, whereby they unworthily are '*vastly inriched*, but the King rendred *poor*, and *un- 'able to sustain and defray the Charges of the Go- 'vernment*, unless by *Impositions*, heavy *Taxes* and '*Tributes* laid upon his People, to the ditinherison 'of his Crown, and the destruction of the Realm.

5. 'Item, By ſuch Encroachment of the ſaid 'Archbiſhop, &c. and by the *Counſel* of that falſe 'Juſticer *Treſylian*, and *Brember* the falſe Knight 'of *London*, they have cauſed our Lord the King 'to have *given away* divers Mannors, Lands, Te'nements, Offices, and Bailywicks, to divers o'ther perſons their *Creatures*, and ſuch as they 'could *confide* in, and to others, of whom they 'have taken great *Gifts* by way of *Brokage* for 'that purpoſe, and to ſtand by them in their falſe '*Suits* and ill purpoſes, to the great prejudice of 'the King and Realm, ſuch as Sir *Robert Manſel* 'Clerk, *John Blake*, *Thomas Uſk*, and divers o'thers.

6. 'Item, The ſaid Duke, &c. Encroaching to 'themſelves the Royal Power, have cauſed the 'King to give very great *Gifts of Gold and Silver*, 'as well of his *proper Goods* and *Jewels*, as of the '*Goods* and *Treaſure* of the *Realm*; as *Tenths*, *Fif*'teens*, and other *Taxes* granted by divers *Parlia*'ments* to be expended for the defence and ſafe'guard of the Kingdom, which yet to the value 'of *One hundred thouſand Marks* have been *laviſht* 'away upon the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, and others. 'And though many good *Ordinances* and *Laws* 'have been made in *Parliament*, as well for main'taining and carrying on of *Wars*, as for the *de*'fence of the Realm*; yet they have been by them '*diſturbed* and *defeated*, to the great diſhonour and 'damage of the King and Realm.

7. 'Item, By ſuch Encroachment, and the great '*Gifts* and *Brokages* taken by the ſaid Duke of '*Ireland*, &c. it came to paſs that divers *unfit* and '*inſufficient* perſons were preferred to, and intruſted

'with

'with the keeping and government of divers *Garri-*
'*ſons*, *Caſtles*, and *Countries* involved in *War*, as in
'*Guyen* and elſewhere, both beyond and on this
'ſide the Sea; whereby the ſaid *Strong-holds* have
'been loſt, the Countries waſted, and the People,
'faithful Subjects to the King, deſtroyed, and great
'*Seigniories* newly rendred into the hands and
'poſſeſſions of *Enemies*, without the *Aſſent of the*
'*Realm*, as the *Marches* of *Scotland*, &c. to the
'diſinheriſon of the Kings Crown, and the great
'loſs of the Kingdom, as in *Harpeden* and *Crad-*
'*dock*, and divers others.

8. 'By the ſame means, the ſaid Archbiſhop and
'his *Fellow-Traytors* have cauſed divers people to
'be diſturbed and deprived of *Right*, and the
'*Common Law* of *England*, and put to intolerable
'*delays*, *loſſes* and *coſts*; and the *Statutes* and *Judg-*
'*ments* which rightfully for neceſſary Cauſes have
'been made and given in *Parliament*, have been
'*reverſed* and *annull'd* by the procurement of the
'ſaid *Malefactors* and *Traytors*; and all this be-
'cauſe of the great *Gifts* and *Brokages* by them re-
'ceived of *Parties*, to the grand miſchief of the
'King and Realm.

9. '*Item*, The ſaid Archbiſhop and other Tray-
'tors have *cauſed* and *counſelled* our Lord the King
'to grant *Charters* of *Pardon* of horrible Felonies
'and *Treaſons*, as well againſt the *State* of the *King*,
'as of the Perſon injured and proſecuting; which
'thing is againſt the King, and the *Oath of the*
'*King*.

10. '*Item*, Whereas the ſaid *Seigniories* of the
'Land of *Ireland* are, and time out of mind have
'been parcel of the *Crown of England*, and the
'People

'People of *Ireland*, *Liege Subjects* to our Lord the 'King, and his Royal Progenitors Kings of *Eng-* 'land, who in all their *Charters*, *Writs*, *Letters* 'Patents, and in their Seals, have for the Aug- 'mentation of their Renown and Royalty, been 'intituled, *Lords of Ireland*; yet the said Archbi- 'shop, &c. as false Traytors, by their said En- 'croachment, have caused and counselled our Lord 'the King as much as in him lies, to have granted 'and fully assented and accorded, that the said *Ro-* 'bert de Vere Duke of *Ireland*, should be made 'King of Ireland. And to compleat such their ill 'purpose, have advised and excited our said Lord 'the *King* to send his *Letters* to our Holy Father 'the *Pope*, to *grant*, *ratifie*, and *confirm* this their 'trayterous *Designe*, without the *privity* or *assent* of 'His *Realm of England*, and of the said *Land of* 'Ireland, to the dividing the Liegance of the 'King between his *Realm of England*, and the 'said *Land of Ireland*; in *diminution of his Maje-* 'sties honourable Stile, and open *disinherison of the* 'Crown of England, and full *destruction of the law-* 'ful Liege Subjects of our Lord the King, and of the 'said Land of Ireland.

11. 'Item, Whereas by the **Great Charter,** 'and other good *Laws* and *Usages* of the *Realm of* 'England, No man is to be *taken*, nor any *Priso-* 'ner put to death, *without the due proceß of Law*; 'The said *Nicholas Brember* the *false Knight of* 'London, did take *by night*, certain Prisoners, to 'the number of 22, out of the Gaol of *Newgate*, 'some of them being *Indicted* and *Appealed of* 'Felony, and some *Approvers* in *cases of Felony*, 'and some on *Suspition of Felony*, and carried them

'out

'out of *London* into *Kent*, to a place called *Foul-*
'*hoke*; and there encroaching on the *Royal Power*,
'and in *defiance* of the ſaid *Laws*, as a *Traytor* to
'the *King*, did without any *Proceſs of Law*, cauſe
'them all to be *Beheaded*, except one who was
'*Appealed* of *Felony* by an Approver, whom he
'ſet at large the ſame time.

12. '*Item*, The aforeſaid *Archbiſhop* and other
'*Traytors* have in ſmall Cauſes taken *great Gifts* in
'the *Name of the King*, of divers Parties, to *main-*
'*tain* and *abet* them in their *Suits* and *Quarrels*,
'and ſometimes have play'd the *Ambo-dexters*, and
'taken Money of both ſides.

13. '*Item*, Whereas divers of the great Lords,
'Loyal Subjects to the King, in divers *Parliaments*,
'ſeeing the dangers, and apprehending the *de-*
'*ſtruction* threatning the *King* and *Realm*, by
'means of the Miſchiefs of theſe Malefactors, have
'*moved* to have good Governance under the *King*,
'to avoid the ſaid Perils; The forenamed *Arch-*
'*biſhop* and other *Traytors* by their Encroach-
'ment and fatal Influences have ſo ordered Mat-
'ters, that the *King* has not onely been *deaf* to
'all ſuch Perſwaſions, but alſo has *Commanded*
'*ſome of thoſe that moved it, to depart from his Coun-*
'*cil, and to ſpeak no more of ſuch Matters*; Nor
'*touching the good Governance of the King and King-*
'*dom, on pain of Death*, to the great prejudice of
'the King and Kingdom.

14. '*Item*, Whereas in the *laſt Parliament*, all
'the *Lords* and other *Sages* there aſſembled, ſee-
'ing the *loſs* and *deſtruction* of the *King* and *Realm*,
'and the *perils* and *miſchiefs* aforeſaid: and that
'the *King* was *departed from the Council of the Realm*,

'and

'and wholly *abandon'd himself to the Counsels of the* 'said *Malefactors and Traytors*: By means where- 'of the *French King* had Ships, and a Royal Power 'on the *Sea*, ready to have arrived in *England*; 'and the said *Realm*, and the very *Language of* 'England *to destroy*: And yet no Provision was 'made, or good Governance taken for the *safety* 'of the *King*, nor of the *Realm*. Finding no other '*Remedy*, did *Remonstrate* to the *King* very fully, 'how he was *Ill-advised*, and Affairs most *pernici-* 'ously manag'd by the aforesaid *Traytors* and *Male-* 'factors, declaring to him their *wicked Conditions*; 'and most humbly beseeching him for the safety of 'himself, and of all his Realm, & avoiding the said '*impending dangers*, to *forsake* and turn these *Tray-* 'tors from his *Presence* and *Company*, and no longer 'to conduct himself after their *evil Counsel*; but 'to hearken to the *sage*, *loyal*, *and discreet persons* of 'his Realm. Whereupon the said *Archbishop* and 'other *Traytors*, to defeat this wholsom *Advice* of 'the *Parliament*, by their false *Counsel* did then 'cause the King to command the *Mayor of Lon-* 'don suddenly to levy a great *Power of the People* 'of that *City*, to *attaque* and *put to death* all the said 'Lords and *Commons*, except such as were of their 'Cabal: At the *Execution* of which *Villany*, the 'said *great Malefactors* and *Traytors* should be *pre-* 'sent and *Parties*, to the *scandal* and great *differvice* 'of the *King* and his *Realm*.

15. 'Item, When the said *Archbishop* and other 'Traytors perceived that the said *Mayor* and *good* 'People of London had openly refused in the pre- 'sence of the *King*, to accomplish such their *Trea-* 'chery and *lewd purposes*, touching the *Murder* of

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'the said *Lords* and *Commons*: They then by such 'their *trayterous Encroachment* falsly Advised the '*King*, and so far prevailed, that our *Lord the* 'King did *absent himself* from *his Parliament* for 'many days, and did certifie them, *That he would* 'never *Approach the said Parliament*, *nor Commune* 'with the said Lords and Commons touching the *Af*'fairs of the Realm, for any danger, loss, or mischief 'that might happen to him or his Realm, unless he 'were first assured by the said Lords and Commons, 'that they would not say or act any thing in that Par'liament against any of the said Malefactors, save on'ly in the Process which was began against Michael 'de la Pole: All which was to the great disservice 'of the King and of his Realm, and contrary to 'the **Ancient Ordinance and Liberties 'of Parliament.**

16. *Item*, The said *Lords and Commons* of the 'Realm, after they found the *Kings Will* by the 'malignant Counsel and excitement of the said *Arch*'Bishop and other *Traytors* to be such, that he 'would not suffer any thing to be commenced, 'prosecuted, or done, *against the said Malefactors* 'and Traytors; were pleased to acquiesce, and 'not proceed therein any further against his plea'sure. And afterwards in the said *Parliament*, ta'king the Advice and Counsel of all the *Lords*, 'Judges, and other *sage Commons* of the said *Par*'liament, how the Estate of the *King* and his *Roy*'alty might best be preserved from the Perils and 'Mischiefs aforesaid, could not find any *apter Ex*'pedient, than to ordain, that *Twelve of the Loyal* 'and sage Lords of the Land should be of *Council*

'to

'to the *King* for *one year* then next enſuing: And 'that there ſhould be made during that time, a 'Statute and *Commiſſion*, whereby they ſhould 'have full and ſufficient *Power* to order *Matters* 'for the *Government* of the *King* and of the *Realm*, 'and what appertained to the *King*, as well on 'this ſide as beyond the Seas; And to *repel*, *re-* 'pair, and *redreſs* what ever ſhould have been 'ill done againſt the *Eſtate*, *Honour*, and *Profit* of 'the *King* and *Kingdom*, and to do divers other 'things neceſſary for the *King and Realm*, as in 'the *Commiſſion* thereupon iſſued, and remaining 'of Record in *Chancery*, is contained. And that 'no perſon ſhould preſume to *Counſel the King*, or 'any way *move* him againſt the ſaid *Ordinance* and 'Statute, on pain of *forfeiting* for the *firſt Offence*, 'all their *Goods and Chattels*; and pain of *Death* 'for the *ſecond*: ſuch *Expedient* and *Ordinance* to 'be made, *if it would ſo pleaſe the King*, and not 'otherwiſe. To which *Ordinance* or *Statute*, all 'the *Judges* of the *Land* agreed, and gave their con- 'ſent unto, and Advice for the ſame, as well in 'preſence of the King, as *of the Lords*. And alſo, *our* 'Lord the King did fully give his Aſſent to the ſame; 'and thereupon the ſaid *Ordinance*, *Statute*, and 'Commiſſion, were *made and accorded unto by the* 'Aſſent of the King, and of the ſaid *Lords and* 'Judges, and other *Sages and Commons* Aſſembled 'in that *Parliament*, for the *Safety of the King, his* 'Royalty and Realm. And yet after the *end of the* 'ſaid Parliament, the aforeſaid *Traytors* and *Ma-* 'lefactors by ſuch their *evil Encroachments*, falſly 'and trayterouſly did inform the King, *That the* 'ſaid Ordinance, *Statute, and Commiſſion were* 'made

'*made in Derogation of his Royalty*; *and that all* '*thoſe who procured or adviſed the making thereof*, *or* '*counſelled the King to aſſent thereunto*, *were wor-*'*thy of Death as Traytors to the King.*

17. '*Item*, That after this the ſaid *Traytors*, 'the *Archbiſhop*, *&c.* cauſed the King to Aſſem-'ble a *Council* of certain of the *Lord-Juſtices* and 'others, without the Aſſent or Preſence of the 'ſaid *Lords* of the *great Council*, to whom they 'made many *Demands*, and very much ſuſpicious, 'touching divers *Matters* whereby the *King*, the '*Lords*, and the *Common-people* have been *involved* 'in moſt *grievous trouble*, the whole Realm *diſ-*'*quieted*, and the *Hearts* of many *withdrawn* from 'the *King*, ſaving their *Allegiance.*

18. '*Item*, To accompliſh their ſaid *High-Trea-*'*ſons*,' the ſaid *Traytors*, the *Archbiſhop*, *&c.* cau-'ſed the King to go with ſome of them through-'out the midſt of his *Realm*, and to make the '*Lords*, *Knights*, *Eſquires*, and other good people, 'as well in Cities and Boroughs, as in other Pla-'ces, to come before him, and there to become '*bound*, by ſome *Obligations*, others by their *Oaths*, 'to our ſaid Lord the King, to be with him a-'gainſt all people, and to accompliſh the *purpoſe* '*of the King*, which at that time was to accompliſh 'the *will and purpoſes of the ſaid Malefactors and* '*Traytors*, drawn in thereunto by their falſe *Con-*'*trivances*, *Flatteries*, and *Deceits*: Which *Se-*'*curities* and *Oaths* were made againſt the *good* '*Laws and Uſages of the Land*, and contrary to 'the *Oath of the King*, to the great diſhonour of 'the *King* and *Kingdom*: By means of which *Oaths* 'ſo inforced, the whole *Realm* was *Embroil'd* in

'great

'great Murmurs and trouble by the ſaid *Traytors*, 'and in danger to have ſuffered divers *important* 'Miſchiefs.

19. 'Item, To inforce their purpoſes, the ſaid 'Traytors cauſed the King to *abſent himſelf* in the 'furtheſt parts of this Realm, to the intent that 'the Lords appointed by the ſaid *Ordination*, *Sta*-'tute, and *Commiſſion*, might not *Confer* and *Adviſe* 'with Him touching the *Affairs* of the Realm: 'to the interruption and hindrance of the pur-'port and effect of the ſaid *Statute* and *Commiſſion*, 'and great prejudice of the King and Realm.

20. 'Item, The ſaid *Malefactors* and *Traytors*, 'after they had *Eſtranged* both the *Perſon* and *good* 'will of the King from the ſaid *Lords* ſo Commiſ-'ſioned, and that he eſteem'd them *Traytors* and 'Enemies; and that they had obtain'd the Opinions 'of the *Judges* ſuited to their *wicked purpoſes*, did 'agree and deſign, That ſeveral of the ſaid *Lords*, 'and alſo divers *Loyal Commons*, ſhould be firſt *Ar*-'reſted, and then *Indicted* in *London* and in *Middle*-'ſex, and by *falſe Inqueſts Attainted of certain* 'Treaſons falſly imagined againſt them, and ſo put to 'ſhameful Death: To which purpoſe they had 'procured an evil and falſe perſon of their Conſpi-'racy, called *Thomas Uſk*, to be *Under-Sheriff*, by 'whoſe means the ſaid *falſe Inqueſts* were to be 'taken, and the wicked Deſign accompliſhed by 'colour of Law. And for the more compleat ef-'fecting thereof, they cauſed the King to ſend his 'Letters of Credence by *John Rypon* a falſe Clerk, 'and one of their Crew, directed to the *Mayor* of 'London, That he ſhould *ſeize* the ſaid *Duke* of 'Glouceſter, and others therein named, to be *In*-

'dicted

'*dicted* for certain *Treasons*, in such manner as the 'said *Nicholas Brember* the false Knight, and *John* '*Blake*, who were thereof fully *informed*, should 'direct: By vertue of which Letters of Credence, '*Brember* and *Blake* carried to the *Mayor* the said '*false Indictment*, commanding him on behalf of 'the King, that to his power he should promote 'the same. And also they ordered, that a *strong* '*Watch* should be set to *seize* my Lord Duke of '*Lancaster* upon his first Arrival.

21. '*Item*, The said *Traytors* having *trayterously* 'informed the King, that he should believe that 'the said *Ordination*, *Statute*, and *Commission*, were 'made in *derogation* of his *Royalty* and *Prerogative*; 'did further perswade him, that the same was 'made with an intention to *degrade*, and finally to '*depose* our Lord the King: And perceiving that 'thereby he lookt upon his Loyal Lords as *Tray-* '*tors* and *Enemies*, They yet further advised Him, 'that by all means possible, as well by the *power* of 'his own *Liege People*, as by the *force* of his *Ene-* '*mies*, the *French* and others, he should destroy 'and put to death the said Lords and others that 'assented to the making of the said *Ordinance*, and 'that the same might be done so *privily* that none 'should know of it till it was done.

22. '*Item*, In order to these *Treasons*, by their '*Counsels*, they caused the King to send Letters to his '*Enemy* the *French King*, some by *Nicholas South-* '*well* Groom of his Chamber, and others by other 'persons of *base condition*, as well *Aliens* as *Deni-* '*zons*, requiring and praying the said *French King*, 'that he would with all his *Power* and *Counsel Aid* '*and assist our Lord the King*, to destroy and put

'to *Death* the ſaid *Lords* and *others*, whom they 'had ſo falſly repreſented as *Traytors*, to the great 'Diſturbance of the whole Realm.

23. 'Item, That uſurping to themſelves *Royal* 'Power, they cauſed the *King* to promiſe the 'French King by his *Letters Patents* and *Meſſages*, 'for ſuch his *Aſſiſtance* to accompliſh the ſaid 'Treaſon and *Murder*, to *give* and *ſurrender* to the 'ſaid *French King* the *Town and Caſtle of Calice*, 'and divers other *Forts* and *Places*; as *Breſt*, *Chir-* 'burgh, and others, &c. to the great *diſhonour*, 'trouble, and *prejudice of the Realm.*

24. 'Item, That after this *trayterous Contrivance*, 'it was agreed between our *Lord the King* and the 'French King, by the *inſtigation* and *influence* of 'theſe *Traytors*, that a *Parley* or *Interview* ſhould be 'had in the *Marches* of *Calice*, and a Truce of five 'years between the *Realms of England and France*: 'At which *Interview*, by *Treachery*, the ſaid *Lords* 'and *others* whom the *King* took for *Traytors*, at- 'tending him thither, ſhould there by *Treachery* 'be *ſlain*. In order to which, they procured ſeve- 'ral *Letters of ſafe Conduct* from the ſaid *French* 'King, for the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*'s going into 'France, to accompliſh this *ill purpoſe* and *Treaſon*; 'which *Letters* are ready to be *ſhewn.*

25. 'Item, That the ſaid *Brember*, by the *Aſ-* 'ſent and *Counſel* of the ſaid other *Traytors*, did 'come into *London*, and without the *Aſſent* or 'knowledge of the *King*, did cauſe all the *Companies* 'of the City to be *ſworn* to *hold* and *perform* di- 'vers *Matters*, as they are contained in the ſaid 'Oath, which is of *Record* in *Chancery*: And a- 'mongſt other things, That they ſhould hold with

'and

'and maintain the *Will and purpose of the King* to 'their *power*, against all that are or shall be *Re-* 'bels, or contrary to his *Person, or Royal pleasure:* 'And that they should be ready to *destroy* all *those* 'which do or shall purpose *Treason* against our 'said *Lord the King*, in any manner; and be rea- 'dy with their *Mayor* to resist *during life*, all such 'Traytors, &c. At which time the *King*, by the 'Mis-*information* of the said *Evil-doers* and *Tray-* 'tors, and by the false *Answers* of the *Justices*, did 'firmly hold the said *Lords* and *others*, who *assented* 'to the making of the said *Ordinances*, *Statute*, 'and *Commission*, to be *Rebels*, *Traytors*, and *Ene-* 'mies unto him: By all which, the said *Traytors* 'endeavoured to stir up the said *People of Lon-* 'don to destroy the said *Lords and other Loyal* 'Subjects.

26. 'Item, The said *Brember* and other *Tray-* 'tors to the King and Realm, usurping to themselves 'Royal Power, Did of their own *Authority*, with- 'out any *Warrant* from the *King* or his *great Coun-* 'cil, cause *Proclamation* to be made through the 'City of *London*, *That none of the Liege Subjects* 'of our Lord the King, should Sustain, Comfort, or 'Aid, Richard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, (one 'of the Lords of the Kings Great Council, during the 'said Commission;) nor sell him any Armour, Vi- 'ctuals, or other Necessaries, on pain of being pro- 'ceeded against as *Rebels*; carrying about and shew- 'ing a Patent of the *Kings*, but of another Te- 'nor, the better to compass such their false Pro- 'clamation.

27. 'Item, They also caused it to be *Cryed* and 'Proclaimed in the said City of *London*, That no

'*perſon ſhould be ſo hardy as to preſume to ſpeak any* '*ill, or utter any word or expreſſion againſt them the* '*ſaid Malefactors and Traytors, or any of them, on* '*pain of forfeiting all they had*; Which was an En-'croachment on the Royal Power.

28. '*Item*, The ſaid *Archbiſhop, Chief Juſtice*, 'and other *Traytors*, cauſed the *King* to command 'his *Council* to make certain perſons throughout '*England* Sheriffs, who were named [or recom-'mended] to him by them the ſaid *Traytors*, with 'an intent to *get ſuch perſons as they ſhould name re-*'*turned for Knights of the Shire to ſerve in Parlia-*'*ment*; And to keep out from thence Gentle-'men *good and loyal*, againſt the good Laws and 'Cuſtoms of the Land.

29. '*Item*, The ſaid *Traytors* during the time 'that the King had ſo taken both Parties into His '*Protection* as aforeſaid, did falſly counſel and 'prevail with the *King* to command by His Let-'ters divers *Knights* and *Squires*, *Sheriffs*, and o-'ther *Miniſters* of ſeveral Counties, to *Levy Men* '*and aſſemble all their Power to joyn with the ſaid* '*Duke of* Ireland, *againſt the ſaid three Lords now* '*Appealing, ſuddenly to make War upon and deſtroy* '*them.*

30. '*Item*, During the time of the ſame *Pro-*'*tection*, they cauſed the *King* by His *Royal Let-*'*ters*, to ſignifie to the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, Not 'onely that he and others were *Appelled* of *Treaſon* 'as aforeſaid; but alſo that he ſhould have ſuffi-'cient *Power to guard him, and come with him to* '*the King.* And afterwards cauſed Him to write 'again to the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, That he ſhould '*take the Field with all the Forces he could aſſemble*;

'*And*

'*And that the King would meet him with all his* '*Troops*, *and would expose and venture his Royal* '*Person*: *And that the King was in great peril for* '*Himself and his Realm*, *unless succor'd and aided* '*by the said Duke*: *And that the said Duke should* '*shew and declare to all the people assembled with* '*him*, *That the King would bear and pay all Debts and* '*Costs of the said Duke of* Ireland, *and all that joyn'd* '*with him.* By vertue of which Letters, and the 'evil and trayterous *Instigation* as well of the said '*Duke*, as of his *Adherents* and other *Traytors*, 'The said *Duke* of *Ireland* did actually Levy and '*Assemble great numbers of Men at Arms*, *and Ar-* 'chers, as well of the Counties of *Lancaster*, *Che-* 'shire, and *Wales*, as of other places of the *Realm*, 'in Warlike manner, *to destroy and put to death the* 'said *Lords*, who had consented to the making the 'said *Ordinance*, *Act of Parliament*, *and Commis-* 'sion, in *Defence of the King and Realm.*

31. '*Item*, That having thus *Trayterously Le-* 'vied *Forces*, the said *Duke marched* with them 'through the midst of *England*, and usurping the '*Royal Power*, did cause the *Kings Banner* to be 'Displayed before him, contrary to the Estate of 'the King, and of his Crown. In which *March* 'the said Duke and his *Accomplices* were by the '*Grace of God* disturbed, and prevented from their 'evil purposes.

32. '*Item*, That the said Duke of *Ireland*, by 'the Counsel and Abetment of the rest of the 'fore-named *Traytors*, encroaching to himself the '*Royal Power*, without the usual *Commission of the* 'King, or other *sufficient Warrant*, Did make 'himself *Justice of Chester*, by him and his *Depu-*

'ties, to hold there all manner of *Pleas of the Crown*, and thereupon to give *Judgment*, and *Award Execution*: And alſo cauſed divers *Original* and *Judicial Writs* to be Sealed with the *Great Seal* of the King in that behalf uſed: And thereby compelled a great part of the people of thoſe Counties to joyn with him, or otherwiſe put ſome of them to grievous and tormenting Death, Impriſoned others, and Seized the Lands of others, *&c.* And all this to make *War*, and deſtroy the ſaid Lords, and other Loyal Subjects of the *King*, and againſt the *Defence* of the *Realm*.

33. *Item*, That the ſaid *Traytors* have cauſed the *King* to grant great *Retinues* to divers people, and give them *Badges and Enſigns* otherwiſe than ever was uſed in the time of any of his *Progenitors*; and *this* with deſign to gain greater power to accompliſh their *Treaſons*.

34. *Item*, Fully to compleat all ſuch their before-mentioned and other *Treaſons*, and to make the King wholly confide in, and relie upon them and their Councels, they cauſed the King to call before him divers *Juſtices* and *People of the Law*, that is to ſay, *Robert Treſylian*, *Robert Belknap*, *John Care*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burgh*, ſix Juſtices, *John Lockton* Serjeant at Law, and *John Blake*: Of whom he did by the contrivance of the ſaid *Traytors* demand, Whether the before-mentioned *Acts* of *Parliament* and *Commiſſion* were made in *derogation* of his *Royalty* and *Prerogative*, or not? and ſeveral other Queſtions; to which they *Anſwered* in manner and form before ſet forth, *&c.*

These

These were the Articles Exhibited; but the prime *Delinquents*, as the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, were fled, and the rest *absconded*: The Chief Justice *Tresylian* having *disguis'd* himself, lay hid at an *Apothecaries* House near the Gate going into the *Old-Palace* at *Westminster*. But on *Wednesday* the 11th *Calends* of *March*, being discovered by his Servant, he was taken and brought by the Duke of *Glocester* to the *Parliament*, who immediately Awarded Execution against him; so that he was the same day *drawn from the* Tower *through the midst of the City of* London *to* Tyburn, *and there hang'd*: That Judgment having formerly been pass'd upon him, when ever he could be found, in the same *Parliament*. The very next day they met with Sir *Nicholas Brember*, whom the King had often before preferred to be *Mayor* of *London*, *against the will of the Citizens*, and who had been the occasion of many Oppressions and Seditions in that City: It was reported of him, that whilst he was in power, he had caused a *common Hatchet* to be made, wherewith to cut off the Heads of all that opposed his Exorbitant doings, and caused a *List* to be made of a vast number of the *Citizens Names* whom he designed for *destruction*, of whom he had procured *Eight thousand five hundred and upwards to be already Indicted*; But was now before he could bring to pass such his malicious bloody purpose, Himself *Beheaded with the very same Instrument*; the King interceding for him with the Parliament, that he might not be *Hang'd*. This *Gentleman* if he had lived was to have been made *Duke of Troy*, mean-

ing thereby *Loudon*, which anciently was ſaid to have ſometimes been called by that Name.

Shortly after *Vske* the *under Sheriff* of *London*, and the before-mentioned *John Blake* the *Lawyer*, were likewiſe drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there Hang'd and Beheaded, and the Head of the ſaid *Vske* placed upon *Newgate*.

In the beginning of *May*, Sir *Simon de Burlee* was Condemned for *High-Treaſon*; but the King diſpenſing with his *Drawing* and *Hanging*, he was *Beheaded* on *Tower-hill*. This perſon by his ill Practiſes had in few years increas'd his ſmall *Patrimony* of 20 *Marks*, to an Eſtate of above *Three thouſand Marks per annum*; and was grown to that exceſs of pride, that at a *Chriſtmaſs* he would give *Liveries* to a great number of Knights and Squires of the Court, and others, beſtowing therein ſometimes an hundred and forty, or an hundred and ſixty, nay ſometimes two hundred and twenty *Broad Cloaths*, and theſe of great price, as being Embroidered with Gold, and ſome of *Scarlet*.

About the ſame time Sir *John Beauchamp* was Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd; but by the *Kings Mercy*, he had only his Head ſever'd from his Body on *Tower-hill*. The ſame puniſhment was inflicted on Sir *John Berneys*, a Knight belonging to the Court, Condemned for *Treaſon* and *Sedition*; but Sir *John Salisbury* was drawn from the *Tower*, and *Hang'd* at *Tyburn*.

And now the *Judges* are brought to Judgment, which in the beginning of the *Parliament* were taken into Cuſtody; *viz.* Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Care*, Sir *John Holte*, Sir *Roger de Fulthorp*, Sir *William de Burgh*, and *John Locton* Serjeant at Law,

Law, who were all condemn'd to be *Drawn*, *Hanged*, and *Quartered*: But by the *Mediation* of the *Queen*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops, the King by the conſent of the Lords, againſt whom they had offended, pardon'd the *Sentence of Death*: But they were Out-law'd and Baniſht for ever into *Ireland*, Two and two to be kept in a place, limited within certain Bounds, which if they ſhould preſume to go out of, they were immediately to be *Executed on their former Judgment*. And for their *Maintenance* were allowed out of the *Kings Exchequer*, as follows; *viz.* To *Fulthorp* 40 *l. per annum*, to *Burgh* 40 *Marks*, to *Belknappe* 30 *l.* to *Holt* 40 *Marks*, and to *Care* and *Loction* 20 *l. per annum* apiece.

This being done, a *General Pardon* is paſs'd for all *Treaſons* and *Seditions* whatſoever, and an *Oath* (ſaith *Walſingham*) exacted not only of all the *Inhabitants* of the Land, but of the *King too*, to ſtand to the *Regulation* of the Lords, (meaning, as I conceive, *thoſe ſo Commiſſioned and Authorized* for one years ſpace by King and Parliament as aforeſaid:) And then the Parliament broke up in the Month of *July*.

After *Whitſontide* the Earl of *Arundel* again puts to Sea, and *burns, ſinks, and takes Fourſcore French Ships*; And likewiſe Seizes the *Iſles of Ree* and *Oleroon* (the latter famous for the *Laws Marine*, there ſaid to be Compos'd and agreed upon) with the City of *Rochel* and divers other places. About the ſame time the *Scots* entred *England* as far as *Newcaſtle*, in which young *Peirey*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and for his Valour and Fury in Arms, Surnamed *Hot-ſpur*, being then

them Ingarriſon'd, he with a ſmall Party fought with them, and with his own hand ſlew *W. Douglaſs* their Commander in Chief; but being at laſt over-powr'd by the coming in of the Earl of *Dunbar*, was himſelf taken Priſoner, though at the ſame time he *ſet free his Countrey*: For he had firſt ſo weakned them by the *deſtruction of their Men*, that they durſt not ſtay longer, but in haſt and diſorder retreated into *Scotland*.

After Harveſt a *Parliament* was again held at *Cambridge*, in which many *wholſome Laws* paſs'd; As againſt *Beggars*, *Riding Arm'd*, *giving Liveries to exceſſive Retinues*: Touching *Labourers*, and *Apparel* ſuitable to peoples Ranks: And eſpecially, *That none ſhould go out of the Realm to the Pope to procure the Grant of any Benefices in* England *without the Kings leave, on penalty of being put out of the Kings protection*. Alſo a *Tax* was granted to the King, being a *Tenth of the Clergy*, and a *Fifteenth of the Laity*.

In the Year 1389, a grievous *Diſcord* happen'd at *Oxford* between the *Welſh* and the *Northern Scholars*, wherein ſeveral were ſlain, and further miſchief threatned; but by the Mediation of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the *Broil was compoſed*, and divers of the *Welſhmen* diſmiſs'd the *Univerſity*.

In *May* the King held a *Great Council* at *Weſtminſter*, and on *Holy-Rood-day*, being led by the *Advice of certain Whiſperers*, entred ſuddenly into the *Council-Chamber*, and taking his *Seat*, Demanded, *How old they took him to be?* Being anſwered, *Somewhat upwards of One and twenty years*: Then (replyed He) *I am of full Age, and capable to manage my Inheritance my ſelf; for ſure 'tis unjuſt*

that

that I should be in a worse condition than any other in my Kingdom; for every Heir after the death of his Ancestor, comes to his Estate, and takes it into his own hand at one and twenty years of age. This the Lords perhaps might be unwilling to Grant, but more unable and afraid to deny: And therefore the King went on with his Speech;----*'Tis well known, that for many years I have lived under your Tutelage and Governance, and for the pains therein We thank you; but now having attained to Our Legal Age, We are resolved to be no longer in Ward, but to take into Our hands the Government of Our Realm, and to appoint such Officers and Ministers as We think fit, and remove others at Our pleasure.*

Accordingly he forthwith commanded the Bishop of *York*, then *Lord Chancellour*, to Resign the *Seal*; which being done, the King put it up in his Bosom and went away, but soon after returned, and gave it to *William* of *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, making him *Lord Chancellor*: He likewise turn'd out the Bishop of *Hereford* from the Office of *Treasurer*, and put in another in his room; and chang'd several other *chief Ministers of State*, partly to shew his *Authority*, partly to satisfie his *Displeasure*; As particularly he *suspended* his *Uncle* the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Warwick* and others from his *Privy Council*, and admitted others in their stead, that *Humour'd* him more, but *Honour'd* him less. The Earl of *Arundel* likewise was removed from the *Admiralty of the Sea*, wherewith he had been entrusted by the *Parliament*, and the same given to the Earl of *Huntington*.

Soon after this, certain *Detractors* circumventing the King, had so far prevail'd as to make him believe,

believe, That the Duke of *Gloceſter* was contriving ſome *Deſigns* againſt him: But upon the Dukes Examination, the *falſhood* and *Malice* of thoſe *Reports* did appear; And the King *bluſht* to conſider his own *Credulity* againſt ſo near and eminent a *Relation*; yet though ſome of the *Spreaders* thereof were there preſent when the Duke would have queſtioned them for the ſame, the King charged him, *as he lov'd him*, not to ſtir farther in the *matter*.

This Summer the King being at his *Mannor* of *Sheen*, in *July*, on a ſudden there appeared ſuch innumerable *Swarms* of *Gnats*, that all the Air was darkned with them, who skirmiſht and fought one with another, till the *Slain* fell down in *heaps*, and being ſwept together with Brooms, amounted to the quantity of many *Buſhels-full*, and the reſt who ſeem'd to come off, and were reckoned about a third part of the whole, flew away; which was by many eſteem'd as an *ill-boding Prodigy*.

About the ſame time the *Diſciples* of *Wickliff* (in thoſe days called *Lollards*) being very numerous, their *Presbyters* took upon them after the manner of *Biſhops*, to confer *Holy Orders*, Aſſerting, that every Prieſt had as much power of *Binding and Looſing*, and *Adminiſtring other Eccleſiaſtical Functions*, as the *Pope himſelf* either had, or could beſtow: And though the *Prelates* had notice hereof, yet out of *negligence*, or rather *fear*, they did not much concern themſelves to ſuppreſs them; ſave only the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich*, who ſwore, That if any of that *Sect* ſhould preſume to Preach in his *Dioceſs*, he would either *Burn* or *Behead* them.

In *November*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* after three years

years abſence return'd into *England* from *Spain*, having matcht his Daughter to the *King* of *Caſtile*'s Son. And the King of *England* having ſummon'd a *Council* at *Reading*, the ſaid *Duke* underſtanding that his Majeſty had conceived *Diſpleaſure* againſt divers great Lords, to prevent the *Miſchiefs* that might thereby ariſe, immediately after his *Arrival*, poſted thither; by whoſe *good Offices* the *King*'s *Reſentments* were diverted, and *Matters* for the preſent pacified.

In the Year 1390, (being the 13 year of King *Richard*'s Reign) on *Munday* after the *Feaſt* of St. *Hillary*, a *Parliament* was called at *London*, wherein amongſt other things it was Enacted, That the *King* ſhould not extend his *Pardon* to any perſons convicted of *Murder*, and a Penalty *Awarded* againſt any that ſhould importune the *King* thereunto; *viz.* That if it were a *Duke* or *Archbiſhop*, he ſhould forfeit to the *King* 100 *l.* If an *Earl* or *Biſhop*, 100 *Marks*, &c. There was alſo granted to the *King* 40 *s.* of every *Sack of Wool*, of which 10 *s.* to go to the *Kings* preſent occaſions, and the other 30 *s.* to be *reſerv'd* in the hands of *Commiſſioners* appointed by *Parliament*, *Not to be expended unleſs neceſſity of War required.* About St. *Jamestyde*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, eldeſt Son to the *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, with a choice Company of a thouſand Knights and Squires, and their Servants, went into *Pruſſia*, where they ſignalized themſelves by ſeveral brave and valorous Actions; and return'd again with Honour in *April* following.

In the Year 1391, the *French* Courted *King Richard* very earneſtly to a *Treaty* of *Peace*; and in order thereunto, deſired that there might be an

Ami-

Amicable Interview of the two Kings neer *Calice*: To which King *Richard* ſeem'd inclinable; and that he might appear more *ſplendid* on ſuch an occaſion, ſent to moſt of the *Abbeys* to furniſh him with the beſt *Horſes* they had: Amongſt whom the *Abbot* of S. *Albans* ſent him *One*, which (*Walſingham* tells us) was worth *Four and twenty Marks*, no ſmall price in thoſe days; and yet not content, he demanded 50 *Marks* beſides in Money: Likewiſe from moſt of the Cities and Burroughs of *England*, he got divers conſiderable Sums to Equip him for this Voyage.

But about the ſame time, by order of the *King and Council*, there was a *Proclamation* ſet forth, Requiring all thoſe that had any *Benefices* in *England*, and were then beyond the Seas, as in the *Roman Court*, (it being a thing not infrequent in thoſe days, for the *Pope* to gratifie his *Favourites* and *Followers* with the beſt *Preferments*, though perhaps never in *England* in their lives) immediately to repair into *England*, to live upon ſuch their *Benefices*, and not ſuck away the *Treaſure* of the *Realm*, by expending their *Revenues* in other Nations, on pain of *forfeiting* all their ſaid *Benefices*. This, together with the late Statute of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, and the *Overture* of a *Peace* like to advance with the *French King*, (who at that time joyned with the *Antipope*, *Benedict* the 13th) much troubled *Pope Boniface* the 9th: (For now, and for neer the ſpace of *forty years* together, there were *two Popes* in being at once, each *Curſing* the other; and part of *Chriſtendom* acknowledging *One*, and part his *Adverſary*.) Therefore the ſaid *Boniface* (whom the *Engliſh* own'd for their

Ghoſtly

Ghoſtly Father) forthwith ſent a *Nuncio* to King *Richard*, with great Complements to commend his *Devotion*, and that of his *Predeceſſors* towards *Holy Church*, but withal to complain of theſe *Invaſions* (as he was pleaſed to call them) of the *Eccleſiaſtical Liberties*; and to urge him as well to *Repeal* the ſaid *Laws*, as by no means to make *Peace* with the *French King*, unleſs he would diſown and no longer aſſiſt the *Anti-Pope*, &c.

The *King* received the *Nuncio* kindly, and heard his *Tale*, but for Anſwer put him off to the Meeting of the *Parliament*, which was in *November*, and then the *Buſineſs* was *bandied* about; and though the *King* and *Duke* of *Lancaſter* ſeem'd willing to gratifie the *Pope*, the *Commons* would by no means conſent that people ſhould go to *Rome* to acquire any *Benefices* in *England*; only that they might not ſeem too much to ſlight his *Holineſs*, they yielded that it might be ſuffered, but not without the *Kings Licenſe*, and no longer than till the next *Parliament*. But though they held *their Pope* to *hard Meat*, they were not wanting in expreſſing their *kindneſs* to their *King*, giving him a *Half-tenth*, and an *Half-fifteenth*; which they offered to make *whole Ones*, on condition the *King* would next Summer make an *Expedition* againſt the *Scots*.

Anno 1392. The *Duke* of *Lancaſter* is ſent over into *France*, and moſt magnificently entertain'd by the *French King*: But inſtead of a Peace, brought back only a *Truce* for a year; to the intent, ſaith *Walſingham*, That during that time, the *collected wiſdom* of *England* might conſider whether it were more expedient to conclude a *final Peace*, or *proſecute* the *War*.

About

About this time, a certain *Matron* in *London* having one *onely Daughter*, had inſtructed her to *Celebrate* the *Maſs*, and built an *Altar* with all its Furniture in a private Room, and there for many days cauſed her to Accouter herſelf in *Prieſtly Habit*, and *Officiate*; onely when ſhe came to the words of the *Sacrament*, ſhe *Proſtrated* herſelf, and durſt not *Conſecrate*; but riſing again, would go on with the reſt of the *Maſs* to the end, her Mother *helping* her and *encouraging her Devotion*. But at laſt a *Neighbouring Goſſip* whom ſhe had call'd to this *private Maſs*, diſcovering her Practice, the Biſhop of *London* heard of it, and being much grieved (as he had reaſon, to ſee his *Trade* uſurp'd by the other *Sex*) call'd her before him, and made her ſhew *her Crown ſhaven exactly like a Prieſt*, before all the people, and cauſed both her and her Mother to do *Penance*.

The *Duke* of *Guelderland*, a moſt *active Prince*, and related to King *Richard*, ſent him a Letter full of *great Complements*, (but in one expreſſion too *profane*) ſtirring him up to War and Military Actions becoming his Royal Dignity, and particularly dehorting him from the deſigned diſhonourable Amity with *France*: The Tenor whereof, was as followeth.

MAgnificent Prince! Both your Innate Generoſity, and the prudent Counſels of your Miniſters will we conceive effectually provide, that all your Hereditary Rights, which by your Birth render your Royal Majeſty Great and Glorious, may by the foreſight of your deep Wiſdom be preſerved Inviolable; And that if any unjuſt Force does Invade or offer to Diminiſh

Diminish them, your Kingly Industry will valiantly defend the same with the Shield of Military Prowess: And since we have the Honour to be Related *to your Royal Person by Affinity,* God himself cannot hinder, *but that we will ever be ready to assist you in defending such your Rights with* Two thousand Launces, *when and as oft-soever as you shall be disposed to engage in a War: Nor ought you to decline the same to your prejudice, for any Words or Promises that may be made you, from the restless* subtilty of the French. *'Tis certain, most Serene Prince, your* Fame *is spread throughout the World: Nor is it doubted, but for your great plenty of* Wool, *and innumerable other Commodities (without which neither the* East *or* South *can subsist) all Kingdoms daily salute you with their Treasures; so that God himself has conferr'd upon you Wealth an hundred fold more in comparison, than on other Kings. Besides the tried* Valour *of your people, and the sharpness of their* Victorious Bowes, *have so far advanced the Fame of your Magnanimous Nation, above any of the* West, *that* Terror *and* Dread *cannot but Invade your Adversaries; for evermore to this day, as oft as the* Gallant English *have fought the* French, *so oft have they carried* Victory *with them from the Field. Let not therefore, most Potent Prince! the Heart of the* Lion *slumber longer against Nature in Pusillanimity: But vouchsafe to apply that matchless Strength which Nature has conferr'd upon you, to warlike Actions, in defence of your* Commonwealth, *the maintenance of your Hereditary Rights, the encrease of your* Merit, *and perpetuating the Renown of so incomparable great and Magnanimous a King.*

Walſingham ſays, That this *Prince* came alſo in perſon into *England*, to perſwade the King againſt making *Peace* either with the *French* or *Scots*, and that he was very honourably entertain'd. But it ſeems his motion was not much regarded, for the time was ſpun out in further *Truces*, and nothing done.

And now the *Citizens* of *London* fall into the Kings grievous diſpleaſure, the Cauſes whereof are ſaid to be *Two*: The *firſt*, Their not only *denying* to lend the King a *thouſand pounds* (which he deſired) themſelves; but alſo affronting a certain *Lombard*, who was willing to accommodate him: and abuſing him (ſome Authors ſay, they beat and half kill'd him) for his *forwardneſs*. The *other* an *Accident* which hapning juſt in the *neck* of this, ſeem'd, or perhaps was *made* a far greater Offence than otherwiſe it need have been reputed, *viz.*

A *Baker* carrying his Bread along the Street, one of the *Biſhop* of *Salisbury*'s Servants took a *loaf* out of his Basket; which the *Baker* demanded to be reſtored, but the *Biſhop*'s man inſtead thereof broke his head; for which Injury the people would have *ſeized* him, but he fled into his Maſters houſe: Thither the *Conſtable* came, and peaceably deſired he might be ſurrendred up to Juſtice. But the *Biſhop*'s Servants ſhut the Gates, and made reſiſtance. This more exaſperated the people, (who though ſometimes they may be deceived by *Fineſſes* and *Craft*, are yet generally *ſhrewd Gueſſers* at *Right* and *Wrong* in Matters of *Fact*, and *Tranſactions of common life*) inſomuch, that many threatned to *fire* their way, and began to uſe violence.

violence. Of which the *Mayor* and *chief Officers* having notice, they immediately repaired thither, and by their *Preſence* and *Authority*, ſuppreſſed the Multitude, and preſerved the Kings Peace; ſo that hitherto the harm was but *ſmall*: and all this *Combuſtion* might eaſily have been *quenched* and *forgot*, had not the *Biſhop* (whoſe *ill-govern'd* Servant was the Beginner and Cauſe of all the *Broil*) kindled the *Fuel* afreſh: And 'tis ſaid, he the rather ſtirr'd in it, out of an old *grudge* which he had againſt the *Citizens*, becauſe they were generally lookt upon to be *Favourers of Wickliffs Doctrine*. But whatever the Motive was, *a loud Complaint* was made by him and other *Prelates* to the King, affirming, That if upon every *paultry pretence* the *Citizens* ſhould be ſuffered thus to *Affront the Biſhops without Chaſtiſement*, they would endanger not only the *Dignity*, but the *Liberty of the whole Church*. The King was ſo incens'd hereat, (being prepared by former Provocations) that he was once reſolv'd to have raiſed an Army, and *utterly deſtroyed the City, and made ſpoil thereof*. But being perſwaded by more *moderate Councils*, he only ſent for the *Mayor* and *two Sheriffs*, and *Four and twenty Aldermen*, and *Four and twenty others* of the ableſt *Citizens*, to his *Court* then held at *Nottingham*, where the ſaid *Tumult* and divers other *Offences* were laid to their *Charge*; As that they had forfeited their *Obligations* formerly given to the King, *&c.* They at firſt reſolv'd to juſtifie their *Innocency*, and faithfully engaged to ſtand by one another: But it ſeems there was *falſhood* in *Fellowſhip*, and as it often happens in ſuch Caſes, ſome timorous perſons

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ſons hoping to *curry favour*, *Impeach'd the reſt*, who again recriminated upon them, and ſo *all* were liable to be undone, and therefore left themſelves wholly to the *Kings Mercy*, who committed the *Mayor* to *Windſor* Caſtle, and the reſt to ſeveral other places of Confinement, ſeizes the *Liberties* of the *City* into his own hands, and Annuls all their *Priviledges*, commands there ſhould be no more any *Major* be choſen, but that he would himſelf appoint one who ſhould be called *Keeper of the City*; and accordingly did qualifie one Sir *Edward Dalyngrygge*, (other Authors call him *Balerygge*) with that Title, who being thought too favourable to the *Citizens*, was quickly removed, and Sir *Baldwin Radington*, a perſon of a rougher temper put in his place; And alſo the *Terms* and *Courts* of *Juſtice*, were removed to *York*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Gloceſter* and others were not wanting to *Intercede* with the King on behalf of the *Londoners*, of whom the *Principal*, on *Sunday* next after the *Aſſumption* of S. *Mary*, waited on him at *Windſor*, and ſubmitted to him, *Themſelves and their Fortunes*: With which he ſeemed ſomewhat well pacified, and on the *Wedneſday* following came towards *London*, being met from the *City* with four hundred Men on *Horſe-back*, clad all in one *Livery*, an innumerable multitude on foot, a *ſolemn Proceſſion* of the *Clergy*, and Five hundred Boys in Surplices: The Fronts of the Houſes adorned with *Tapeſtry* and *Pictures*, the Conduits freely running *Wine*, *&c.* Beſides, they preſented the King with a *Crown of Gold* of great value, and another of the ſame *Metal*

tal to the *Queen*; together with a *Picture* of the *Trinity* worth 800 *l.* and ſeveral other *great Gifts*: And ſo they obtained their *Priviledges* reſtored and confirmed to them, the *Election* of a *Mayor*, and all things as before: And having been at all this *Charge*, doubted not but to be quiet and free from further *Fine* or *Penalty*. But herein they were deceived; for notwithſtanding all their *Preſents*, the King yet upon ſuch *ſubmiſſion* before made, demanded and forced them to pay after all this, *Ten thouſand pounds*, or elſe they muſt have ventured the *Effects* of his new *Diſpleaſure*.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* having been furniſht with Money to raiſe an *Army*, for an *Expedition* into *Ireland*, (of which the King had lately created him *Duke*) when his Troops were now juſt *ready* to *march*, and all things prepared, was on a ſudden *without any cauſe* Recall'd, and the Voyage Countermanded, to the great *Detriment* as well of *England* as *Ireland*: For upon the Report of his *Coming*, almoſt all the *petty Iriſh Kings* had adviſed one with another, and reſolved to *ſubmit themſelves* to the *Engliſh*.

The Year 1393, a *Parliament* at *Wincheſter* gave the King half a *Tenth* for the *Clergy*, and half a *Fifteenth* for the *Laiety*, towards the Expences of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, who were going into *France*, to Treat of a *Peace* between the *two Crowns*. The *French King* ſometime before had loſt his *Senſes*, but was now pretty well recovered, yet at this time narrowly eſcaped with his life, from the *Treachery of the Duke his Brother*, who over-greedily Aſpired to the *Crown*. For the King and ſeveral other Per-

ſons of Quality dancing a *Rural Mask*, to make themſelves appear more like thoſe *Savages* which they were to repreſent, had got on ſtrait Garments cloſe to their Bodies, cover'd over with *Tow*, which was fixt on with *Roſin* and *Pitch* to make it ſtick the faſter: Now when they were buſie in the midſt of their *Dance* by *Torch-light*, a *Villain* ſuborn'd by the *Duke*, clapt a *Flambeau* amongſt them, as if done by *Accident*, whereby in an *inſtant* the *Tow* and other *Combuſtibles* took *fire*; but a *Lady* ſeeing the danger, ſnatcht away the *King* before the *flames ſeiz'd him*, whilſt Four of the other *Maskers*, notwithſtanding all the help imaginable was uſed, were immediately burnt to Death.

In *England* the Lord *Tho. Piercy* is made the *King's Steward*, and Sir *William Scroop* Chamberlain, a Perſon (ſaith our *Author*) *than whom, in all Mankind, there could not be found one more wicked or cruel.*

The year following, 1394, was chiefly remarkable for *Funerals*. Firſt the *Dutcheſs* of *Lancaſter* Daughter to the *King* of *Caſtile*, was ſnatcht away; then the *Counteſs* of *Derby* her Daughter-in-Law; next Queen *Anne* her ſelf, whoſe *Obſequies* were magnificently and at vaſt Expences *Celebrated* by the *King*; and ſoon after died *Iſabella Dutcheſs* of *York*: Nor was *Death* onely content to Triumph over the *Ladies*, but alſo *mowed* down the Noble Sir *John Hawkwood*, a Knight whoſe *Valour* had rendred him *Famous* in many foreign *Nations*, and no leſs *dear* to his own.

About *Auguſt* iſſued a *Proclamation* throughout *England*, *That all the* Iriſh *ſhould forthwith return*

turn home, and wait the Kings coming thither at Lady-day *next following, on pain of death.* And indeed it was but time to ſend them packing; for ſuch multitudes were come over in hopes of *gain*, that they had left the *Engliſh* Pale in *Ireland* almoſt quite *deſolate*: So that the natural *wilde Iriſh* not yet Conquer'd, taking thereby an advantage, *deſtroy'd* or *pillaged* the *few Subjects the King of England* had remaining there, at their *pleaſure*. And whereas King *Edward* the Third, when he ſettled his *Courts of Juſtice*, &c. in that Country, received from thence to his Exchequer *Thirty thouſand pounds* per annum; the ſame by reaſon of the want of *Inhabitants*, was not only *loſt*, but on the *contrary*, the King forc'd to be out of *Pocket Thirty thouſand Marks* every year in the neceſſary *defence* of his *Territories* there. Effectually to redreſs which, the King in Perſon about *Michaelmas* ſail'd into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, *Rutland*, &c. The *Iriſh* unable to *Cope* with ſo great a *Force*, endeavoured onely to *weary* him with *Alarms*, *Ambuſcades*, and *Skirmiſhes*; but at laſt, divers of their *petty Princes* were glad to ſubmit to King *Richard*; of whom ſome he kept as *Hoſtages* for ſecurity, others he diſmiſt upon *Parole*. And for the better ſettlement of *Affairs*, Aſſembled a *Parliament* for *Ireland* at *Dublin*, and continued in that Kingdom till after *Eaſter*.

In the mean time, *Anno* 1395, the Duke of *York*, *Guardian of England* during the Kings *abſence*, called a *Parliament* at *London*, eight days after *Twelfth-tide*; unto which was ſent from *Ireland* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who ſo zealouſly repre-

ſented the *Kings Neceſſities*, by reaſon of the *vaſt Expence* he had been at in this neceſſary and no leſs *advantageous* than *honourable Expedition* into *Ireland*; that the *Clergy* were content to preſent his Majeſty with a *Tenth*, and the *Commonalty* with a *Fifteenth*: But not without a *Proteſtation* firſt made, *That they were not bound to grant the ſame* De ſtricto jure, *but did it purely out of their Affection to their King.*

The *Lollards* (ſo call'd, as *Tritemius* ſays, from *Walter Lollard* a *German*, who flouriſht about the year 1315. Or as others think from *Lolium*, ſignifying *Darnel* or *Tares*; for being Followers and Diſciples of *Wickeliff*, the *Clergy*, and eſpecially the *Monks* and *Fryars*, were not wanting to *brand* them with *ill Names*, and reputed them as the *Tares* ſown by the *evil One* in the *Field* of *Gods Church*;) did about this time publickly affix on the Doors of S. *Paul*'s Church, *Accuſations* of the *Clergy*, charging them with ſundry *Abominations*, and alſo divers *Concluſions* touching *Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, and the *Sacraments* of the *Church*. At which the *Biſhops* were much diſturb'd, and according to their uſual Method, inſtead of clearing themſelves, and confuting their *Adverſaries* by *Scripture* or *Reaſon*, endeavoured to ſilence them by *Club-law*, diſpatching away the *Archbiſhop* of *York*, and *Biſhop* of *London*, into *Ireland* to the King, intreating him to haſten his return, to ſuccour *Faith* and *Holy Church*, that were both like to be undone by the *Hereticks*, who were contriving how to take away the *Poſſeſſions* of the whole Church, and overthrow all the *Canonical Sanctions*. Upon this News, back comes the King from *Ireland*, and takes

takes several of the Chief Favourites of the *Lollards* to task, threatning most terribly if they shew'd them any Countenance for the future. But the *Hereticks* were not the onely *Afflicters* of the *Clergy* at this time; but Birds of their own Nests began to pluck their feathers too: for *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* got a *Bull from the Pope*, Impowering him to levy throughout all the *Dioceſſes* of his *Province*, *Four pence in the pound of all Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Revenues*, as well of those Exempt, as not Exempt; and this without so much as *pretending any true or lawful Cauſe for the ſame.* However, the Execution of this *Bull* being committed unto the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *London*, though many of the inferiour *Clergy* grumbled not a little, and complained thereof as unreasonable, yet they were generally forced to submit unto it.

Anno Domini 1396, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to whom the King had given the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and who had been at *ineſtimable Charges* in those Parts, to *Conciliate* to himself the *Affections* of the *Inhabitants*; no sooner had obtained the same, but he was suddenly recall'd from thence by the Kings Command. To which, though it seemed no less *hard* than *unexpected*, the Duke paid a *punctual Obedience*, and was received if not with *love*, yet at least with a *ſhew of honour* by the King; from whom having obtain'd License to depart the *Court*, he hastened to *Lincoln*, and there to the admiration of all the World, (by reason of the *diſparity* of their *Qualities*) was married to *Katherine Swinford*, who for divers years before had been his Mistress.

This

This year also the *Pope* wrote to the King, intreating him to assist the *Prelates* of the *Church* in the *Cause of God*, and of him the said King and his Kingdom, against the *Lollards*, whom he declared to be *Traytors* not onely to the *Church*, but likewise to the *King*; and therefore did most earnestly press him, That whomsoever the *Bishops* should declare to be *Hereticks*, he would forthwith Condemn by his *Royal Authority*. But it seems the King was *too busie* otherwise to attend his *Holiness's Commands*, and to do his *Prelates drudgery* in *butchering* of *Hereticks*; for he was making mighty Preparations for a *Voyage*, not of *War*, but of *Gallantry*, into *France*; where by agreement, the *two Kings* were to have a *Personal Conference*.

In order to which, King *Richard* passes over to *Calice*, and the *French* King came down to *Arde*; between which two Towns was the place appointed for their *Interview*, and *Magnificent Tents* erected for their *Entertainment*. But first they *interchangeably* took an *Oath*, truly and religiously to observe the *Sacred Laws* of *Amity* at this *Congress*, and that neither by themselves or any of their *Subjects*, *Friends*, *Allies*, or any other to their privity, or with their Allowance, there should *be contrived or practised any Hostility*, *Surprize*, *Damage*, *or Disturbance by the one Party to the other*. And for further *security*, the *Space* between the *two Royal Tents* was *Guarded* on either side with Knights Armed, and drawn Swords in their hands; *Four hundred English* on the one hand, and *Four hundred French* on the other.

The

The Twenty ſeventh of *October* the *two Kings* met, Four *French Dukes* waiting on the King of *England*, and Five *Engliſh Noblemen*, viz. the *Dukes* of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*, and the *Earls* of *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Northumberland*, attending the *French* King.

After an Enterchange of Complements between their *Majeſties*, it was firſt by *mutual conſent* order'd, That a *Chappel* at both their equal Charge ſhould in the place of their *Interview* be Erected, which ſhould be called, *The Chappel of our Lady of Peace:* And on *Saturday* the *Feaſt* of S. *Simon* and *Jude*, on further Treaty, it was accorded, That there ſhould be a *Ceſſation of Arms* between the *Two Crowns* for the term of Thirty years; and that King *Richard* ſhould Eſpouſe *Iſabel* the *French* Kings Daughter, then not above Eight years old. On *Sunday* the *two Kings* dined together in King *Richard*'s Tent, and on the *Munday* the *French* King brought thither the young Lady, who was entruſted to the Tuition of the *Dutcheſſes* of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*, and other Engliſh Ladies, who conveyed her with a Glorious Retinue to *Calice*. And ſoon after the *two Kings* in a moſt amicable manner took their Leaves of each other.

Walſingham tells us, That beſides the *Preſents* made by King *Richard* to the *French* King and his Nobles, amounting to the value of Ten thouſand Marks and upwards, he ſpent in this Amorous Voyage above Three hundred thouſand Marks. And *Truſſel* relates, That the Duke of *Glouceſter* was not a little offended both with the *Match* and the *Truce*, alledging, *That it was more meet to be in Arms*,

Arms than Amity with the French, *who being inferiour to the* Engliſh *in Courage, did ever overreach them in Craft, and being too weak for War, did oft-times prevail and get Advantages by Treaties of Peace.* That the *French Lady* (being but a *Child*) was a very unfit *Match* for King *Richard*, as well by reaſon of the *Diſparity* of their Years, as for that he had no Iſſue by his *firſt Wife*, and was not like to have any by *this*, unleſs perhaps in his *old Age*. But theſe *Arguments* not prevailing, the *Londoners* however took the Confidence to *petition* the King; That ſeeing there was Peace with *France*, he would *Releaſe them of the Subſidy*, granted in the *laſt Parliament*, towards maintaining the Wars againſt that *Crown*. This *Suit* being by them ſo importunately followed, as much *perplexed the King*, untill at length the Duke of *Lancaſter* aſſured them, That the procuring this *Peace*, had ſpent and loſt the King *Three hundred thouſand pounds*, wherewith they were pacified, though 'tis probable not very well pleaſed.

The *King* being returned ſafe into *England* with his *Baby-Bride*, though not without the loſs of his *Tents*, and a great part of his *rich Furniture* caſt away by a *Tempeſt* in croſſing the *Channel*: The Earl of S. *Paul* was ſoon after ſent by the *French* King to Complement the young *Queen*, who having underſtood how earneſtly *Gloceſter* had inveigh'd againſt this *French Alliance*, was ('tis ſaid) an *eminent Inſtrument* in contriving and occaſioning the *deſtruction* of that *Duke*; adviſing the King, that he was *too dangerous a Subject* to be ſuffered, and that it concern'd *His Majeſty* both

in

in *Honour* to revenge the *Disgraces* which he had by him formerly received, and in *Policy* to prevent the *Dangers* which he had cause to fear. Hereupon the King grows jealous of the Duke, and as *that passion* is restless, and apt to be fed with the slightest *Imaginations*, so he began to pry more narrowly into his *Deportment*, watch his *Words*, and interpret both *Them* and his *Actions* to the *worst*, framing to himself many vain *Apprehensions* and needless *Disquiets*.

To which another *Accident* not a little contributed; *viz.* the King having been paid the Money lent the Duke of *Britain* upon *Brest*, Redelivered the *Town*, and thereupon the *English Souldiers* that were there in Garrison, were sent home; who at a *Feast* which the King kept at *Westminster*, coming in great numbers into the *Hall*: As soon as the King had Dined, the Duke of *Glocester* askt him, *If he observed those men that stood in such Troops in the Hall? Yes*, *marry* (said the King) *Who were they? They were* (said the Duke) *those Souldiers, who by your Surrendring up of* Brest, *are sent home, and must now either steal or starve.* And so went on to tax the King of an *unadvised Deed*, with words much *more unadvised*: Insomuch, that the King in great anger replyed,----*Why, Uncle! Do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to sell my Lands? By S.* John Baptist, *No; but could I refuse to render the Town, when I was tendred the Money lent upon it?* And certainly it shews either great *weakness* in the Duke, if *Brest* were but a *Mortgage*, and he did not know it; or much *Injustice* if knowing it, he would yet have had the King to detain it against *manifest Equity*. Upon this

this and the before-mentioned *Provocations*, there was kindled in the King such a *Displeasure* against the Duke, as could never afterwards be quench'd but by his *Blood*. And first he would often complain to the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, of the Duke of *Glocesters* perverseness in *Actions* and *crosness* in *Speech*; who endeavoured to excuse him, and pacifie *His Majesty*; alledging, *That their Brother indeed was more vehement than they could commend, but they durst assure His Majesty, That his Heart was* dutiful *and* faithful; *and that such his vehemency proceeded from a zealous regard left His Majesty and his Kingdom should suffer either in* Honour *or* Revenue, *and therefore His Majesty had no cause either to fear, or be offended with him.* The King herewith seem'd to be satisfied; but however, the said *two Dukes* not knowing how far they might be involv'd in that Displeasure which they still perceived he retain'd against their Brother, thought fit, for avoiding the worst, *to retire from Court*, thereby giving the Duke of *Glocester*'s *Enemies* the greater opportunities to incense the King against him. Nor was it long before this black *swelling Cloud* of *Royal Indignation* burst forth into actual *Thunder*. But first,

In the Year 1397, a *Parliament* being summon'd at *London*, the Duke of *Lancaster* caused the *Issue* he had before Marriage begot on *Katherine Swynford* to be *Legitimated*; and at the same time was granted to the King *half a Tenth* by the *Clergy*. Soon after which, *King Richard*, *contrary to the Oath he had formerly taken, recall'd the Judges from* Ireland, *whom by his consent, the Nobles in the other Parliament had for their Demerits banisht.*

And

And certain idle Reports being ſpread, *That he was, or was like to be choſen* Emperour: The *King* thereupon began to take upon him a greater *Port* and *Magnificence* than ever before: To maintain which, he *fleec'd* the *Common people*, and borrowed almoſt of every body great Sums of Money; So that there was no *Prelate*, *City*, or *Citizen* of Eſtate in the whole *Kingdom*, but *furniſht the King* out of their Stock.

And now the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* being retired to his Houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*, the King, with the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Marſhal, and the Earl of *Huntington*, one day on a ſudden rode thitherwards, but left the Earl Marſhal with a ſelected Troop in *Ambuſcade* in the Foreſt, whilſt the King and his *Retinue* rode directly to the *Dukes Houſe*, who with all dutiful reſpect, and heartily welcome, receives and entertains them: Which *Treat* being over, the King deſires the Duke to accompany him towards *London*, who with a very ſmall Company waited on him accordingly; but being come into the Foreſt, on a ſudden the King clapt Spurs to his Horſe, and the Duke was *ſtopt* by the Earl Marſhal, and by *violence hurried* to the *Thames*, there blindfolded, and againſt his will *ſhipt*, and carried to *Calice*, (then an *Engliſh Garriſon*) where he was kept cloſe Priſoner, till afterwards privately put to death.

The next day the *King* invites the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and ſhew'd him very good Countenance; but upon his Return cauſed him ro be *Arreſted* and ſent to priſon. At the ſame time the Ear of *Arundel* was apprehended, and the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheney* ſent to the *Tower*.

Theſe

These *strange Proceedings* Alarm'd the whole Nation, therefore to quiet the people, a *Proclamation* is issued, setting forth that these Noblemen were seized not for any of their old Offences, but for new *Crimes* which should be discovered, and fairly proceeded against in the next *Parliament*. Accordingly soon after He caused them to be *Indicted*, suborning (saith *Walsingham*) *Appealers* to accuse them in *Parliament* at *Nottingham*, *viz.* The *Earl* of *Rutland*, the *Earl Marshal*, the *Earl* of *Kent*, *&c.* In the mean time the *King* draws out a great power of Armed-men, [*Multos Malefactiores*, our Author calls them] from *Cheshire* and *Wales*, whom he kept about him as a Guard for his Person.

About the *Octaves* of the Feast of the Virgin *Maries* Nativity, a *Parliament* began at *London*, whereof one Sir *John Bushy* was *Speaker*, and Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, chief *Sticklers*, Persons of whom the *Historians* give this Character, That they were *Proud*, *Ignorant*, *Covetous*, and withal *Ambitious*: To which might be added, that they were most notable *Flatterers* too, if it be true that *Bushy* in all his *Speeches* did not attribute to the *King*, *Titles of Honour* due and accustomed; but *such as were fitter for the Majesty of Almighty God*, *than for any earthly Prince*. By the Importunity of these men and others, *all the Charters of Pardon* formerly granted by the *King*, were called into question; the *King* protesting they were drawn from him *against his Consent*: The *Clergy* first gave their Opinion, but somewhat sparingly, That they thought then they might be *revocable*; and the

Temporal

Temporal Lords shewed themselves of the same opinion, but the *Judges and Lawyers* opposed it, How it was carried according to the King's Inclination, and all the said *Pardons vacated and annull'd.*

Having thus remov'd all *Obstacles*, they next fall roundly to work, only the *Prelates* pretending a Scrupulosity, that they might not be present at *Judgments* of *Blood*, chose Sir *Henry Peircy* their *Procurator*, and departed the House. First, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was accused for executing the *Commission* against *Michael de Pole*, for which his *Temporalities* were seiz'd, his Lands and Goods forfeited, and he himself adjudged to perpetual Banishment, and to depart the *Realm* within six Weeks. In whose place the *King* caused to be preferred his Treasurer *Roger de Walden*, who, because (saith our Author) he *presum'd to ascend to the Bed of his living Father*; (that is, to take the *Archbishoprick* whilst the said *Thomas* surviv'd) was two years afterwards turn'd out by the Authority of the *Pope*. Sir *R. Baker* tells us, That when this *Archbishop* was first accused of *Treason*, he offered to make his *Defence*, but Sir *John Bushy* besought the King, *That he might not be admitted to Answer, lest by his great Wit and Cunning, he might lead men away to believe him.* If all their Proceedings were like this, we may easily guess at the *Justice* of the rest.

In the next place, They proceeded to *Judgment* against the Earl of *Arundel*, who in vain pleaded the *Benefit of his Pardon*, for he was notwithstanding sentenc'd to be *Drawn*, *Hang'd and Quartered*, which was mitigated by the *King* in-

to the favour of *Beheading*. The *Earl* when called to Anſwer, Condemn'd, and at his Death betrayed not the leaſt *ſymptoms* either of *Guilt* or *Fear*; But obſerving the *Earls* of *Nottingham* and *Kent*; (of whom the firſt was his *Son-in-Law*, the ſecond his *Nephew*) to be bery buſie at his *Execution*: He calmly ſaid to them, ——*Truly it might have beſeemed you at leaſt rather to have been abſent; but the time will come ere-long, that as many ſhall marvel at your Misfortune, as they do now at mine.* This *Earl* was wonderfully belov'd by the *Comons*; and *Walſingam* affirms, That the *King* was afterwards haunted with an *Imagination* of his *Ghoſt*, not being able to cloſe his Eyes, but ſtrait he fancied *Arundel* ſtood before him: And the more to diſturb him, *a Miracle* was reported, *That his Head of it ſelf was grown to his Body:* Which was aſſerted with ſo much Confidence, that the *King* cauſed his *Tomb* to be opened, to diſprove the *Fiction*; and underſtanding that ſtill the People went on *Pilgrimage* thither as to the *Shrine* of a *Saint*, or *Martyr*, cauſed the *Auguſtin Fryars* in *London*, amongſt whom he was *buried*, to take down his *Scutcheons*, and *abſcond* his *Grave*, by laying a *new Pavement* over it.

The *Lord Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, upon his *Arraignment*, did not carry himſelf with ſo much *Courage* and *Gallantry*, but confeſs'd with *Tears* he had been a *Traytor* in joyning with the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, and other *Lords* formerly acting *againſt the Kings pleaſure*: Therfore thogh condemned to Die, the *King* remitted that *Puniſhment*, and only ordered him to perpetual *Impriſonment* in the *Iſle of Man*. The *Lord Cobham*

Cobham was also *banisht*, though there was no *new Matter* against him: But only that he had been appointed by *Parliament*, to be one of the *Commissioners* of *Inspection* before mentioned, in the tenth year of his Reign.

As for the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, having ſo great an Intereſt in the *Affections* of the *People*, it was not thought ſafe to bring him to a *publick Tryal*, but concluded with more *Policy* than *Juſtice*, to put him to death *ſecretly*, without either *Conviction* or *Examination:* And therefore being a *cloſe Priſoner* as aforeſaid at *Callice*, he was by certain *Ruffians* ordered thereunto by *Nottingam Earl Marſhal*, ſuddenly one Night *ſtrangled* or *ſtifled to death between two Feather Beds.* Thus fell this *Great*, and (for ought we find in Writers of thoſe times) *Good Prince*, the *Son of One*, and *Uncle of another King*, and ſo beloved of the *People*, that *with him* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *the general Hope and Comfort of the Commonalty of the Land expired.*

And now the *King* cauſed the *Parliament* to be *Ajourn'd* till after *Chriſtmas*, and then to ſit again at *Shrewsbury.*

Where in the beginning of the Year 1398, they met accordingly; and the *King* by the *Intereſt* he had made amongſt them, cauſed not only all the *Proceedings* of the *Parliament* in the Tenth Year of his Reign, to be *Condemned* and *Annulled*; But alſo obtained a *Conceſſion* from them, That after the *preſent Parliament* ſhould break up, *Its whole Power ſhould yet be Conferred upon and remain in certain Perſons by them particularly named, or any Seven or Eight of them.* Who by vertue of

ſuch Power granted, did afterwards proceed to *Act and determine* many things concerning the *Publick State of the Nation*, and properly the *Work of a Parliament*, to the great *prejudice of the Realm.*

And to fix himſelf more firm with *Friends*, or Illuſtrate his *Triumphs* over thoſe he thought his *Enemies:* The *King* about this time was moſt liberal in Conferring of *Honours*, Creating no leſs than *Five new Dukes*, of whom one was the *Earl* of *Derby*, made *Duke* of *Hereford*; and an other the *Earl* of *Nottingham*, (probably for his *good Service* in diſpatching the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*) raiſed to the Title of *Duke* of *Norfolk*; One *Dutcheſs*, One *Marqueſs*, and Four *Earls:* Amongſt whom he made a *Diſtribution* of a great part of the *Lands* of the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, and of the *Earls* of *Arundel* and *Warwick*; imagining by this *double Bounty of Honour and Eſtate to ſupport it*, to have tyed them with a double *Obligation* of *Duty* and *Affection*: Not conſidering that *hired Friends* for the moſt part are ſeldom either *ſatisfied* or *ſure*; but rather like ſome *Ravens* that *Naturaliſts* tell of in *Arabia*, which being *full-gorg'd*, have very ſweet *tuneable Notes*; but *empty*, ſcriech moſt horribly.

Furthermore, to gratifie the *Cheſhire-men*, who had chiefly aſſiſted him and his late *Favorites*, he qualified that County with the *Name*, and *Dignity* of a *Principality*, and added to the reſt of his own Titles, that of *Prince of Cheſter.*

A *General Pardon* was alſo granted for all *Offences* to all the *Kings Subjects*, but clogg'd with a ſtrange *Clauſe* of *Exception*, exempting *Fifty perſons*

Perſons in number, from the Benefit thereof, whoſe Names were not expreſſed, but left to the *Kings* own *knowledge* and *pleaſure*; to the end, that if any of the Nobility ſhould happen any way to diſpleaſe, he might nominate *him* or *them* to be of the Number excepted, and ſo ſtill keep them within his danger. By which *Reſervation* the *General Pardon* became *no Pardon at all*, ſince no man in *England* could aſſure himſelf that he was included in it.

Laſtly, To *Corroborate* and add the *greater eſteem* to the *Acts* and *Proceedings* of this *Parliament*, *King Richard* purchaſed the *Popes Bulls* containing grievous Cenſures and *Curſes* on all that ſhould preſume to break or oppoſe them: Which were ſolemly publiſhed at *Pauls Croſs*, and other places throughout *England*.

All things ſucceeding thus ſuitable to the *Kings pleaſure*; the *Heads* of the *Party* that oppoſed his Will, having loſt their *Heads*: the *Nobles* afraid, and the *Commons unable* to expreſs their *Reſentments*, any otherwiſe than in *Sighs*, or *whiſper'd Murmurs* and *Complaints*: His *Officers of State*, His *Laws*, nay His very *Parliament*, all modell'd to His *Deſigns*, He could not but ſing *Requiems* to His *Soul*, and look upon himſelf in a Condition altogether *happy* and *ſecure*. When yet to ſhew that there is ſtill an *over-ruling Providence* that can *blaſt all Projects*, though never ſo *ſubtlely laid*, if not founded on *Equity*, and carried on with *Juſtice*: A *Monarch Paramount*, who *confoundeth the Councils of Princes*, *and is terrible to the Kings of the Earth*; when once they become diſobedient unto, and forgetful of him: Behold on a ſudden,

all his *Affairs* by unexpected Means and unlikely Inſtruments, are *embroil'd* more than ever, and this *great Prince* left ſo deſtitute of *Power*, or *Friends*, as to be forced, without ſtriking one *ſtroke*, to ſurrender his *Crown*; and (which was yet more greivous to a generous Mind) acknowledge himſelf both unworthy and unfit to wear it any longer.

This *Wonderful Cataſtrophe* has ſince been thought to have been fore-ſhewn by ſome *prodigious Tokens*, that happened about this time: As that in this Year 1398, when almoſt throughout all *England*, all the *Bay-trees withered*, and afterwards beyond all expectation, grew *green* again. And another perhaps more remarkable, on *New-Years Day* following, When a very *deep River* running between the *Villages* of *Suelleſton* and *Harewod* near *Bedford*, on a ſudden *ſtopt its Courſe*, and divided it ſelf, ſo as that for *three Miles* ſpace the *Channel* remain'd *dry*.

But waving ſuch *uncertain Preſages*, if we conſider the ſeveral *Steps* that led to this *grand Mutation*: The firſt both in *order of time*, and *Influence*, may be reckon'd that of the *Baniſhment* of the *Duke* of *Hereford*, Son of the *Duke* of *Lancaſter*: This was occaſioned by means of a *Quarrel* between Him and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*, but what the *grounds* were of that *Quarrel*, is ſomewhat differently reported by *Authors*, for though all agree, 'twas about *certain words ſpoken to the Kings diſhonour*, yet of what *nature* thoſe words were, is not ſo certainly *related*. But the beſt, that is, *moſt probable account thereof*, that I can meet with, is as follows.

The

The Duke of *Hereford*, either disdaining the *undeserved Favours* and *Advancement* of some Persons about the *King*, or *disliking* that his Sovereign should be *abused*, and his Countrey *oppress* by such *ill Instruments*; or perhaps to shew his *own skill* and *sufficiency* in the *Art of Government*, happened one day in *familiar Conference* with the Duke of *Norfolk*; to complain, that the *King* too much undervalued the *Princes of the Blood*, and much discouraged the rest of the *Ancient Nobility* from intermedling in *Publick Affairs*: That instead of using their *able Advice* and *Service*, He was engrossed by a few *Upstart Favourites* of base *Birth*, and *baser Qualities*; having no sufficiency either for *Council* in *Peace*, or *Courage* in *War*: And whose dishoneſt Conditions had deservedly contracted an *Odium* and *Contempt* of the *whole Realm*; whereby the *Honour* of the *Kings Person* was much obscured, the *safety* of his *Estate* endanger'd, and the *Dignity* of the *English Nation* not a little impair'd: And that it was high time, that the *King* should provide some Redress herein. And all this he protested he mention'd not out of a *Picque* to any perticular person, but out of Compassion for so *publick Grievance*, and *zealous Duty* to his *Soveraign*. And therefore desired the said *Duke*, that he being one of the *Kings Cabinet-Council*, would be pleased to discover unto His Majesty, these *Enormities* and *Dangers*, that by removing the *One*, he might happily prevent the *Other*.

To these, or some such discourses, the *Duke* of *Norfolk* seemed much to adhere, assuring *Hereford*, that in these *Apprehensions* he had but *Copied*

his own *Thoughts*, and seemed not only to approve of what he said, but promised to improve his *Interest* towards a *Regulation* of the *Matters* Complained of. And perhaps had the words been afterwards by him but as *faithfully* related, and by the *King* as candidly taken, as they were freely and innocently intended, many *Mischiefs* might have been avoided. But on the contrary, they were maliciously *mis-recited*, and much *mis-construed*: For the *Duke* of *Norfolk* had formerly sided with the *Lords*, yet it seems Preferment had taken him off, and he was now become wholly addicted to humour the King: And therefore to serve himself yet further into favour, acquaints him with these Complaints of the Duke of *Hereford*, but so *exaggreated*, and intermixt with reflective *Additions*, that the King was highly incensed, and calling *Hereford* before him, charged him therewith, who denying a great part thereof, and *Norfolk* as stoutly asserting it, the former challenged the latter to the *Combate*, who readily accepted thereof, which at last the King allows, assigning *Coventry* the place, and *August* following for the time of decision.

And though it be not much material to our History, yet to gratify the vulgar Readers Curiosity, it will perhaps be no unwelcome *digression*, to relate the *Formality* of the intended *Duel*, between these two Puissant Peers. On the day therefore appointed, each of them attended with a splendid and numerous *Retinue*, appears: The Duke of *Albemarle* was *pro Tempore*, made *High Constable*; and the Duke of *Surry*, *High Marshal*: who came to the Lists Honourably attended with Rich *Liveries*;

ries; ſuitable to their greatneſs, each of their Servants carrying *Tipſtaves* for clearing the Field. Where, firſt the Duke of *Hereford* as *Challenger*, mounted on a White Courſer, in Capariſons of Green and Blew Velvet, Embroidered thick with *Swans* and *Antilopes*, armed *Cap-a-pe*, with his Sword drawn, approached the Liſts: of whom the Marſhal demanding *who he was*! received this Anſwer,—*I am Henry of Lancaſter, Duke of Hereford, that am come hither to do my Devoir, againſt Thomas Moubray, Duke of Norfolk: as a falſe Traytor to God, the King, the Realm, and me.* And then taking his *Oath*, that his Qurrel was *true and juſt*, deſired liberty to enter the Liſts, which being granted, he put up his Sword, pull'd down his Beaver, ſign'd himſelf on the Fore-head with the *Croſs*, took his Spear, and paſſing the Barriers, diſmounted, and ſat down in a Chair of *Green Velvet*, placed in a Travers of Green and Blew Velvet, at one end of the Liſts.

Then King *Richard* enters the Field with great Pomp, accompanied with the Earl of S. *Paul*, who came out of *France* on purpoſe to be a *Spectator* of the Combat, and attended with moſt of the *Nobles* of *England*, and a Guard of Ten Thouſand men in Arms, to prevent any ſudden Tumult, or diſorders. His Majeſty being ſeated in a *Chair of State*: one of the *Kings at Arms* made Proclamation, *That none but ſuch as were appointed to Marſhall the Field, ſhould touch any part of the Liſts, upon pain of Death.* Which ended, another Herald cryeth,—*Behold, here* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *Duke of* Hereford *Appellant, who is entred into the Royal Liſts, to do his devoir againſt* Thomas Moubray

Duke

Duke of Norfolk: *upon pain of being counted falſe and Recreant.*

Immediatly upon this, appeared the Duke of *Norfolk* bravely mounted, his Horſe barbed with *Crimſon-velvet*, embroydered with *Lions* of Silver, and *Mulberry Trees proper*, and having taken a like *Oath* before the Conſtable and Marſhal, that his Quarrel was *Right and Juſt*, entred the Field; crying aloud, *God aid the Right*; and then lighted from his Horſe, placing himſelf in a Chair of Crimſon Velvet oppoſite to *Hereford*, at the other end of the Liſts, the Marſhal viewed their *Spears*, to ſee that they were of equal length, and carried the one himſelf to the Duke of *Hereford*, and ſent the other by a Knight, to the Duke of *Norfolk*. This done, Proclamation was made, *to mount, and addreſs themſelves to the Combat.* Upon which the Dukes inſtantly mount their Horſes, cloſed their Beavers, caſting their Spears into their Reſt, when the Trumpet ſounded, and the Duke of *Hereford* put his Horſe forward, but before *Norfolk* ſtirred, the King caſt down his *Warder*, and the Heralds cryed, *ſtay! ſtay!* Then the King cauſing the Spears to be taken from them, they returned to their Chairs, whilſt he retired to *Council*, to debate what was fit to be done in ſo weighty a cauſe: where after two Hours debate, their *doom* was agreed upon without fighting, and one Sir *John Bouray*, by the Kings Command, after ſilence proclaim'd, read their Sentence, which was thus: That foraſmuch as the Dukes Appellant, and Defendant, had honourably appeared in the Liſt Royal, and were not only ready but forward to entertain the Combat, therefore it being an Affair

fair of great conſequence, for *avoiding the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood*, the King by the advice of his Council had decreed: That *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, ſhould within 15 days *depart the Realm*; not to return within the ſpace of *Ten Years*, *on pain of Death*: without the Kings ſpecial Licence; and after a Second Proclamation, Sentence of Baniſhment was alſo read againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, but with theſe ſeveral aggravations. Firſt that the ſame was for *Life*; Secondly, that the *Cauſe* thereof was expreſſed to be, for having *uttered Seditious words, whereof he could not produce any proof*; And Thirdly, it was added as part of his further puniſhment, That the King ſhould *receive the Revenues of his Lands* until he were ſatisfied, all ſuch Sums of Money, as the ſaid Duke had taken out of the King's Coffers, on pretence of paying the Garriſon of *Callice*.

And further it was proclaimed, That no perſon from thenceforth ſhould preſume to *Petition*, or *Intercede* with the King, in the behalf of either of theſe Dukes, to alter this ſentence, on pain of his Majeſties high diſpleaſure: which being ſo declared, the King called them both before him, and took of them a Solemn Oath, That they ſhould never *Converſe* together beyond the Seas, nor willingly come into each other's Company.

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſoon after, in great grief and trouble of mind, departed into *Germany*, and from thence to *Venice*, where in a ſhort time he died with ſorrow, leaving this cautionary Leſſon to all Courtiers, *That greatneſs abuſed by whiſpering untruths, draweth, if diſcovered, certainty of deſtruction*. And obſervable it is, that his Baniſhment

ment was pronunced on *the very day Twelve Month*, on which the Duke of *Glocester*, had by his order been *Murdered* at *Calice*, ſo juſt is the Divine *Nemeſis:* not only in revenging ill actions, but cauſing the puniſhment to be attended with ſuch circumſtances as may make the world take notice of it.

The Duke of *Hereford* took his leave of the King, at *Eltham*, behaving himſelf ſo reſpectfully, that his Majeſty was there pleaſed to declare, he would *abate* 4 *Years* of his Exilement: yet could not that pacify the Murmurs of the people, who could not be perſwaded that there was any cauſe for his being Baniſht at all. Exclaiming that it was againſt the Law of Arms, the cuſtome of the Realm, and all Juſtice; that he ſhould be Exil'd, who had ſo honourably offered to mantain his *Appeal* according to the Law of the Field. He directed his courſe from *England* to *Paris*, where he was nobly received by the *French King*, and found ſuch favour in that Court: That he was offered in Marriage, the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry:* the ſaid Kings Uncle. But King *Richard* having notice thereof, uſed means to ſtop the proſecution of that Treaty.

He had not been gone many Months, but his Father, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, pays Nature her Debt; his Death perhaps being haſtened by thoſe Impreſſions of grief, which this diſgrace of his Son might occaſion on his Spirits. The Character given this Duke by Hiſtorians, ſpeaks him a man well adviſed and wary, an approver of ſafe Councils with reaſon, rather than Fortunate Exploits with hazzard: One that was neither negligent, nor ambi-

ambitiously tender of Glory, and therefore deported himself towards the King his Nephew, in terms honurable and respective enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not so plausible as an uncollected greatness, and the *depravity* of the Court might desire, whereby little happened unto him Extraordinary: either in Prejudice or Preferment.

By his Death, the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, did lineally descend to his Eldest Son, the said Duke of *Hereford*. But (as the Nature of Man is very Prone to hate those whom he hath injured) the King forthwith seizes all the *Lands and Goods of the deceased Duke*, endeavoured to perpetuate the Banishment of the Young Duke, and revoked the Letters Patent he had granted and consented unto, for enabling the said Dukes Attornies to sue out his *Ouster Le Main and Livery* of those Lands, which during his Exile, should descend to him, his Homage being formerly concluded upon to be Respited at a reasonable Fine. And all this without any Crime alleadged (that we can hear of) against the Father, whereby he should have forfeited his Estate: or new Provocation given by the Son, whereby a Cloud might arise for his being deprived of it.

This severity could not but enrage the Duke, who was already sufficiently discontented at his Banishment, nor were the People sparing to Exclaim (where they durst) against these proceedings as unjust, and thence to contract, first, a Pity, and afterwards an high esteem for this Exil'd Noble-man, who though not the Immediate Heir presumptive to the Crown, (for *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl

Earl of *March*, was therein before him, the Right having by Parliament (the common Arbitrator in that caſe in thoſe daies,) been formerly declared to be in his Father, as being Son of *Phillipa*, the Daughter of *Lionel*, the Third Son of King *Edward* the Third, whereas, the late Duke of *Lancaſter*, was but the Fourth Son of that King.) Yet being ſo near it, and thus exaſperated, they thought he might ſtep over that Obſtacle. *Si jus violandum Regni causâ violandum eſt.* They knew him to be an active Prince, and of great Courage; and therefore generally fixt their Eyes on him, as the man that muſt be their deliverer from thoſe grievances and preſſures, under which they lay gaſping. And indeed their condition could not but be very uneaſie, for the King having got rid of two of his Uncles, viz. *Gloceſter* and *Lancaſter*, (one murdred, the other naturally deceaſed) and the Third, which was *York*, either in diſdain for the Indignity offered to his Nephew *Hereford*, or in diſtruſt of his own ſafety, being retired with his Son, the Duke of *Albemarle*, to his Houſe at *Langley*, look't upon himſelf as abſolutely *Hors de Page*, free from any Controul, with which their unwelcome gravity was wont ſomtimes to check his irregular Appetite; and therefore now took a greater Liberty than before, to diſoblige and haraſs his People. For thus we find the condition of thoſe times deſcribed.

That the King abandoned himſelf to ſloth, and lay plunged in the ſoft, but deſtructive Charms of pleaſure; by whoſe example the Nobility too much gave themſelves up to Eaſe and Luxury; whereby Cowardice and Effeminacy crept in, and Ship-

wrack

wrack was made both of Manhood and Reputation. The chief Affairs of State had long been Bias'd by private respects, which made the Nation decline as well in Riches as Honour: and all things being out of due Motion, the *Common-weal* seem'd not so much by degrees, as with a main Course, and at once precipating into inevitable Ruine. The *Northern* parts by frequent losses, almost consumed by the *Scots*, who had taken several important Posts, and defaced all the Countrey with Slaughter, and Devastations Towards the *South*, the Merchant Ships were daily surprized by the *French*, who likewise frequently pillaged the *Sea-coasts*: And of the Kings Hereditary Dominions in *France*, many strong holds were lost by negligence, or sold by ill advise and Treachery. Forces sometimes were often pretended to be sent over for their defence, but so scatteringly, at such unseasonable times, so ill accommodated, or under such indiscreet conduct, that they were occasions rather of loss, than help. Affairs were managed by such as neither Nature had design'd, nor Education prepared, nor Experience qualified for Politicians; but corrupt or ignorant Ministers by flatteries and base Arts swai'd in the Kings affections, and disposed of all things at their pleasure, keeping him as it were beseiged from any better advise. The profits and revenues of the Crown; nay, the whole Kingdome was *let to farm*, the King making himself only a Landlord, and challenging no greater priviledge by his Reign, than a *dissolute and uncontroled Life*. Great Sums of Money, were by *new-found and unwonted* means every day rather extorted from, than voluntarily granted by the subject,

where

whereof no advantage accrew'd to the Kingdom, only private pleaſures were maintain'd at an extravagant Rate, and *unworthy Favourites* advanced. To theſe, the King was ſo exceſſively Liberal, that he was forced to borrow, begg, and extort in many places, to ſupply this vain laviſh humour, undoing many without cauſe, to Inrich a few without deſert. Over and above the *Tenths*, and *Fifteenths*, and ſuch uſual *Taxes*, which were many times gathered double in one Year, ſtrange Impoſitions were deviſed and put in practiſe, ſometimes exacting 12*d. per poll*, of every Subject, 6*s.* 8*d.* of every Prieſt, and Religious Perſon: great Sums drawn from the People under the favourable Term of *Benevolence*, and ſo much borrowed upon *Privy-Seals*, that no Man of Ability could eſcape his *Loan*, though very ſeldom any repayment was made.

And to add to all former burdens this preſent Year, 1399. He charged 17 whole Counties with taking part againſt him heretofore with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Lords, and threatned with *Armed force, to ſpoil and deſtroy them as publick Enemies.* And having thus affrighted them, ſent certain Commiſſioners, Biſhops, and Lords Temporal, to all the ſaid ſeveral Shires, to let them know his heavy diſpleaſue: And that without due acknowledgment of the Offence, and Submiſſion to his mercy, he could not receive them into his Grace and Favour: whereby they were prevailed upon, to own themſelves *Traytors under their Hands and Seals.* Which was no ſooner obtained, but they were compell'd to pay inſupportable Sums of Money, for the *Redemption* of their Lives and Eſtates,

ſtates, and procuring their Peace, whereby they were all ſo impoveriſht, that few were able to ſubſiſt, none at preſent to reſiſt. And yet further to make Conſcience it ſelf acceſſary to ſlavery: *New Oaths* were impoſed, not warranted by any Law, and the People conſtrained to Seal *Blank Charters*, and *Obligations*, and deliver them to the Kings uſe, wherein whatſoever he pleaſed might afterwards be inſerted.

The King bearing ſo heavy an hand over his People, 'tis no wonder if they bear an hard Heart towards him; who being ſhallow in Judgment, and not able to cover his Vices, but with a Cloak of ſeeming terrible and powerful, became firſt hated, and afterwards contemptible, and drove many of his Subjects to an Inclination to Revolt, as reſolved rather to run the hazzard of a ſpeedy ruine by Rebellion, than to periſh by ſuch a lingring Death of ſlavery.

In order hereunto, there had been ſome overtures very privately made by Letters to the Duke of *Hereford*, importuning his ſpeedy return into *England*: remonſtrating, that as well for the publick *good* of the Realm, as for their own particular ſafeties they ſhould be forced to uſe force for their deliverance from theſe intollerable oppreſſions, and therefore ſolliciting him to be pleaſed, but to make the *Head*, and they would furniſh the *Body*, with an able *Army*, and not only help him in bare wiſhes and advice, but would joyn Hearts and Hands to adventure their *Lives and Fortunes in his Quarrel*, which was alſo their own, ſo that the danger ſhould be common to all, the Glory only his.

The Duke entertained theſe Adreſſes with

great wariness, and such moderation: that he seem'd rather worthy of a Kingdom, than desirous of it. But to Whet him to an Edge, and settle his Resolutions for the Enterprize, there wanted not an apt and politick Instrument. This was *Thomas Arundel*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who being with the other Bishops in the Parliament, when his Brother the Earl of *Arundel*, together with the Earl of *Warwick*, *&c.* were called into question, because *Clergy-men* by the Canons are commanded, not to be present at any *Judgment of Blood:* He and the rest of that Order, *departed the House*. Upon which occasion being absent, not only his Brother was condemned for high Treason, and Executed, as you have heard, but he himself Banish't the Realm, his goods seized as forfeit, and his Archbishoprick conferr'd on another. This Prelate after this Disaster, did with divers of his Confederates, by several ways, and in strange disguises, come to *Paris*, and in the House of one *Clomigey*, where the Duke had taken Lodgings, had frequent Conferences with his Grace touching the Affairs of *England*; Their debates you may Imagine, were managed with the strictest secrecy. And I have alwaies been of Opinion, that it better becomes a *Romance*, than a serious *History*, for the Author to forge *set Speeches* on such occasions: wherin, though he may please, he does but deceive the Reader, for how suitable soever he may contrive them, yet 'tis forty to one but the parties themselves, might make use of very different *Topicks*; Without guessing therefore at their word, let it suffice to say, their Consultations terminated in a Result, that the Duke should adventure

venture himself over into *England*, and try his Fortune, upon the first convenient opportunity; Which soon presented it self the most invitingly that could be imagined.

The Earl of *March*, appointed by the King to be his *Lieutenant* in *Ireland*, exposing his person too adventurously, was slain by the *Wild Irish*, which so exasperated King *Richard*, that he resolved in person to revenge his Death. In order to which he raised a great Army, but not without grievous Charge to his Subjects, and about *Whitsontide*, set forwards, accompanied with the Dukes of *Albemarle*, and *Exeter*, divers of the Nobles, and many Mitred Prelates, amongst whom, was the *Abbot* of *Westminster*, a chief Favourite; and taking with him, not only the Sons of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Hereford*, (whom he pretended to instruct by that expedition in the *Rudiments of War*: but indeed secured them as *Hostages*, to prevent any attempts, that might be made in his Absence by their Relations, of whom he was most apprehensive.) But also all his Treasure, Jewels, Plate, and Royal Robes: as if he had design'd, (as in the event it effectually prov'd) to have taken a final leave of his Kingom, and Dignity here in *England*.

Besides these general discontents of the People, occasioned by the former ill-conduct, and oppressions of Corrupt Ministers of state, he just upon his departure, stumbled upon another Error in Politicks; for being at *Bristol*, it was suggested to him; That *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with others his *Partisans*, intended some disloyal attempt, and therefore did not tender their service

in this Expedition: whereupon by a *pursevant*, he commanded the said Earl with all the Forces he could raise forthwith to repair to him: whereunto, the Earl by a Letter returned an excuse, instead of Compliance, intreating his Majesty to consider, how little necessary it would be for the *Irish* Service, and indeed dangerous to the whole Realm, to draw men from such remote places, in regard those Rebels were neither so many, nor so mighty, but that the King had already sufficient Forces, to reduce them to Obedience; and to disfurnish the *Northern* parts of their strength, would but give an opportunity to the *Scots*, to Invade us. And therefore begg'd his Majesty, that he would be pleased in such a juncture, to Excuse him from attending. This Answer the King interprets as an Affront, to his Authority, and in an unadvised Heat, proclaims the Earl, and all that should take his part, *Traytors*: and orders all their Lands, and Goods to be seiz'd to his Use. The Earl resenting this disgrace, and forced (as it were by necessity) does then in earnest make good the Original Information, by standing upon his Guard: or rather in a posture of open Hostility.

In the mean time the King pursues his voyage for *Ireland*, whose Arrival Fortune courted with some *treacherous smiles*; for the petty *Irish Kings* terrified with the Fame of his Power, and not daring to trust each other in a *joynt Defence*, endeavoured rather singly to make each one the best Bargain for himself, by being the first that should submit to the disproportionate force of the Invader. But these Triumphs cost King *Richard* dear in the sequel; for whilst he is thus engaged,

and

and abſent from his diſcontented Kingdom of *England*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* thinks it the only proper time to put in execution what he and others his Confederates had been conſulting of: Wherefore diſpatching ſome of his truſty Emiſſaries over to acquaint his Friends, and provide *Arms* and all neceſſaries for his Arrival; He addreſſes himſelf to the *French King* with a Complement, That he intended to pay a Viſit to his Kinſman *John* Duke of *Britain*, and therefore deſired his Majeſties Royal Letters of *ſafe Conduct*; which being granted, he there very privately levied a few Souldiers, with whom, hiring three Ships of the Duke of *Britain*, he put to Sea for *England*, accompanied with the forementioned *Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Tho.* Heir to *Richard* late Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramſtone* Knights, *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Eſquires, having not in all above twenty Lances, and his whole Retinue beſides conſiſting not of above ſixty perſons; ſo that 'tis hard to judge which was the greateſt wonder, that he durſt attempt, or that he did ſucceed in the Conqueſt of a Kingdom, with ſo inconſiderable a Company. But his Confidence was not ſo much in the People he brought with him, as in the ſtrength he ſhould find here, relying altogether on the favour and aſſiſtance of the people of the Realm, whom he knew to be generally male-contented, and eager to change their preſent Governours for any that would but promiſe them a Melioration of their Condition for the future.

Yet being wary not to puſh things on beyound

Possibility of a Retreat; As he did not presently Land, but lay cruising up and down, sometimes appearing on one Coast, and sometimes on another; that he might the better discover how the Inclinations of the people stood, and what Forces were ready either to receive or resist him, till at last being satisfied therein, he put on shore without any opposition about the biginning of *June*, at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkshire*; So did he not then make any pretensions to the Crown, but gave out very solemnly, that he came only to regain possession of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and the rest of his lawful Inheritance, which all the Nation knew was wrongfully detained from him, and so were the more ready to pity and favour him in a Cause notoriously just, and against which there was no objection.

His Arrival was no sooner known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*, and shorly after at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Westmorland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common people.

Intelligence hereof being soon conveied to the Duke of *York*, the Kings eldest Uncle, and with whom during his absence he had intrusted the Governance of the Realm: He calls together the Bishop of *Chicheſter* Lord Chancellor, *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltshire* Lord Treasurer, Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *John Russel*, chief Favourites of the Kings Privy Council, to consult what was to be done in this Exigency of Affairs. Amongst whom, whether designedly

ſignedly by ſome, or ignorantly by others, I cannot ſay; but I am ſure by all perniciouſly for King *Richards* Intereſt; It was concluded to abandon *London*, and appoint the Rendezvous for levying Forces againſt the Duke at S. *Albans*. But when the people out of ſundry Counties were drawn thither to be muſtered, they declared, *They would not act any thing to the prejudice of the ſaid Duke*, who they affirmed was unjuſtly expelled his Country, and unlawfully kept from his Inheritance.

This Refuſal of the Commons to ſerve, being looked upon as a very *ill Omen* to the Kings Cauſe; The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, forſook the Duke of *York*, and fled to *Briſtol*, intending to paſs the Seas into *Ireland* to the King: And time it was, (eſpecially for them) to take their Heels, for theſe Four were thoſe that were ſaid to have taken of the King his Kingdom to *Farm*, and on that account and other Greivances and Oppreſſions, which they had occaſioned, were become ſo odious to the People, that their very preſence turned away many of the Subjects hearts from their Soveraign, it being the diſpleaſure againſt them, rather than any diſatisfaction to the *Kings Perſon*, that cauſed this general Revolt. The Duke of *York* ſeeing their flight, and the Humour of the Generality favouring *Lancaſter*, and loath to run the adventure of an improbable Reſiſtance, gave over the Cauſe, and thereupou the reſt of the Counſellors either openly declared for the ſaid Duke, or ſecretly held Correſpondence with hm, reſolving to ſwim with the general Torrent,

in hopes of greater ſafety thereby, than by ſtemming that impetuous Tide which bore down all before it.

For never did *Snow-ball* encreaſe ſo faſt by rolling, as the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Forces were augmented by his March, ſo that they were quickly grown ſixty thouſand ſtrong, and he reſolving to follow the *Channel* whilſt the *Current* was fierce, haſtned with his Troops to *London*, that poſſeſſing himſelf thereof, being the chief place within the Kingdom for *Strength* and *Store*, he might beſt there make the Seat of War, and be eaſieſt accommodated both with *Proviſion* and *Ammunition* In his whole March no Oppoſition was ſeen, no Hoſtility ſhewn, but all along Gentlemen of the beſt quality out of *Affection* or *Fear*, or hope of *Reward* reſorted to his Tents; and where ever he ſtayed *rich Preſents* were mad him, and his Army ſupplyed with neceſſaries even to ſuperfluity, and particularly at *London* he was received with *Triumphant Pageants* and *Shews*, ſolemn *Proceſſions* of the Clergy, and loud Acclamations of the People.

But he was more regardful of his Affairs than to ſtay long there, and therefore having fix'd the Citizens firm to his Intereſt, and knowing all the danger that could threaten him, muſt be from King *Richard*'s return out of *Ireland*. To obviate that, and overtake the fugitive Favourites, who were fled to *Briſtol*, he with ſpeedy Marches purſued them thither: where finding the Caſtle fortified againſt him, he aſſaults it ſo briskly, that in Four daies time he forc'd it to a ſurrender, and taking therein the Earl of *Wilſhire* Lord *Treaſurer*, Sir *John Buſhy*, and Sir *Henry Green*, he the very

very next day Sacrificed them to the importunate rage of the incenſed People, cauſing them all Three to be beheaded. But as for Sir *William Bagot*, he was got to *Cheſter*, and from thence ſhifting over into *Ireland*, alone, eſcaped the preſent vengeance; This Execution, if it had not been juſt, muſt yet be accounted Politick; for partly becauſe it was ſo grateful to the People, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings Pardon; It became a great ingagement to all the Dukes followers, to adhere more firmly to him for the future.

The Duke had now been Six Weeks in *England*, and the whole Land in effect had ſubmitted to him; during all which time, there was no news of King *Richard*, whether it were that by reaſon of contrary Winds he had no Intelligence, as ſome write; or that on the firſt advice, he ſlighted it, according to the Humour of ſome weak Spirits; who contemn dangers remote, but are aſtoniſhed at them, when they approach too nigh; However, at laſt upon certain news, in what an hazardous condition his affairs ſtood, he cauſed the Sons of the Dukes of *Glocester*, and *Lancaſter*, to be impriſoned in *Trim Caſtle*, and determined forthwith for *England*; but the Duke of *Aumerle* his Principal Counſellor, perſwaded him to ſtay till all his preparations were ready: Which fatal Council it was King *Richard*'s ill Deſtiny to follow, yet preſently ſent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raiſe him an Army in *Wales* and *Cheſhire* againſt his own coming, which he ſolemnly promiſed ſhould be withing ſix days at furtheſt. The Earl imployed his pains ſo well that he had ſoon gotten together

Forty

Forty thousand men; but the six days and more being elaps'd, and the King not appearing, made them murmur and suspect he was dead, or come to some disaster: but the Earl perswaded them to have patience some few days longer, which being likwise expired, and no tidings of him, they then in discontent broke up and retired to their respective homes.

At length, eighteen days after he had sent away the Earl, the King took Shipping attended with *Aumerl*, *Exeter*, *Surry*, the Bishop of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Carlile*, and others of the Nobility, and landed in *Wales*, having about him a Competent number of *Cheshire* men: But when he understood that the other Forces he expected to joyn with him were baulk'd and disbanded: that most of his Fortresses from *Scotland* to *Bristol*, had surrendred to *Lancaster*; that the *Londoners* espoused his Interest; that the greatest number of the Nobility and Commons almost in general took part with him; and especially that his *principal Councellors* had lost their Heads at *Bristol*, he was so far from retaining the *Magnanimity of a King*, that he almost left off to be a *Man*, and totally abandoned himself to *despair*. Perplext in uncertainties, either where to stay, or whither to stir, destitute both of Knowledge and Resolution in himself for such amazing Difficulties, and obnoxious to weak, wavering, and unfaithful *Counsels* from others; some advised him to march further into the Land, before those Forces he had fell from him, alledging that Fortune seconds Valour: That in all places he should find some, who out of duty or affection, or for hire, would follow

low his Standard, which was illuſtrated with Majeſty, and guarded with Right: Others perſwaded him to go back into *Ireland*, or over to his Father-in-law of *France*, and thence to return when the *Paroxiſm* was a little over, and himſelf better ſtrengthned. But the King unacquainted with Marſhal Affairs, rejected both *Counſels*, and taking a *middle courſe* (which always in *Extreams* of that kind is the worſt) reſolved to ſtay in *Wales* to attend to what *Head* this *Humour* would riſe.

His Souldiers Endeavourd to encourage him to venture a *Battel*, vowing they would live and die with him; but this could not at all raiſe his drooping Spirits, but in the Night he ſtole away from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surry*, The Biſhop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and half a ſcore more, retired to the Caſtle of *Conway*, where the Earl of *Worceſter* Steward of His Majeſties Houſhold, ſeeing his Maſters Affairs in that deſperate ſtate, or to revenge the Proclaiming of his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland* Traytor (as before was mentioned at the Kings going for *Ireland*) did openly in the Hall before all the Kings Servants break his *white Staff of Office*, and forthwith repaired to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and the reſt of the *Royal Retinue* by his Example ſcattered and ſhifted every one for himſelf. Such *Court-flies* and treacherous Attendants being but like *Crows* to a *dead Carcaſs*, who flock to it, not to defend it, but to devour it; for no ſooner have they pickt off the fleſh to the bones, and find no more ſuſtenance, but they are upon the wing to be gone.

The

The Duke of *Lancaſter* upon Advice of King *Richards* Arrival out of *Ireland*, left the Duke of *York* (who was now joyned with him) at *Briſtol*, and marched in the Head of his Troops to *Gloceſter*, then to *Roſs*, afterwards to *Hereford*, (where repaired to him the Biſhop of that *See*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*) on the *Sunday* following he went to *Leymſter*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him, from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert* and Sir *John Leigh*, and other perſons of quality, being ſent from *Cheſter* to offer him their Service; as alſo the Lord *Scales* and the Lord *Bardolph* out of *Ireland*.

From *Shrewsbury* he repaired to *Cheſter*, where he diſpatcht an *Expreſs* into *Ireland*, to fetch over his Son and Heir, and likewiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Son and Heir; both whom King *Richard* had left in Cuſtody there: but it ſeems their Keepers durſt no longer detain them after *Lancaſter* commanded them thence, for his Son ſoon after arrived here, but the other *young Gentleman* was unfortunately caſt away at Sea.

About this time, the King ſeeing himſelf ſo beſet and ſtraitned, that he could neither *Reſiſt*, nor *Eſcape*, deſired a Conference with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, from whoſe Negotiation he could certainly hope for little good, ſince the one he had formerly baniſht, and proclaimed the other a *Traytor*; however they upon ſafe Conduct coming to him, declared, That if it might pleaſe his Majeſty to promiſe that a *Parliament ſhould be Aſſem-*

Assembled, and in the same *Justice done*, and the Duke of *Lancaster* and his followers receive a General Pardon, since what they had done was for the publick Weal of the Realm; the Duke would be ready to *cast himself at his feet*, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful Services. But the King whether perceiving that all this was but *Complement*, and thinking more to oblige them by an early *Voluntary offer* of what he saw he must be forc'd to part with; or whether confounded in himself he grew weary of wearing a Crown, that he was not able to support; required only that himself and eight more whom he would name, might have an honourable Allowance, with Assurance of a private quiet Life, and then he would *Resign the Crown*; which was readily condescended unto, and the King also desiring to speak with the Duke, was removed to *Flint Castle*.

Soon after the Duke arriving there with his Army, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Earl of *Worcester*, were sent before to the King, who spying them from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet them, and observing that they did their accustomed *Reverence* to him upon their knees, courteously took them up, and had some private discourse with the Archbishop.

After a small space, the Duke of *Lancaster* himself all Arm'd, approached the Castle, and being within the first Gate, he there reposed himself, till the King attended with the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth and sate down

down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw his Majesty, he came toward him *bowing his Knee*, and advancing forward, did so a second, and a third time, and then the King took him by the hand and lift him up, saying, —— *Dear Cousin, thou art welcome*; the Duke humbly thanking him, answered, —— *My Soveraign Lord and King, the Cause of my coming at this present is (your Honour saved) to have Restitution of my Person, my Land and Inheritance.* To which the King replyed, —— *Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception.* After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for *Wine*, and having drank, they mounted and rod to *Chester*, and so by several Stages, he was carried directly and with great Expedition to *London*, and lodged on pretence of *State*, but in truth for better security, in the *Tower*; having not in all that Journey changed his Apparel, but wore only one Sute, and that but an ordinary one, whereas he was wont to be extraordinary profuse in his Cloaths, having one Coat valued at *Thirty thousand Marks*.

The King yielded himself the Thirtieth day of *August*, being but the Seven and fortieth day after the Dukes Arrival in *England*, so that he might well assume *Cæsars* Motto, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: For considering his Marches from *Holderness* in the *North* up to *London*, and from thence to *Bristol*, and so into *Wales*, and back again to *Chester*; a man can scarce travel over so much ground in the space that he Conquered it: Nay so indulgent was Fortune to him, that all the Kings Jewels and Treasure (amounting as a late Author asserts, to

Seven

Seven hundred thousand pounds) with his Horſes and Baggage fell into his hands.

The King being thus ſafely lodg'd in the *Tower*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* (but in King *Richards* Name) cauſed Writs to be iſſued forth for ſummoning and chooſing a *Parliament* to be held at *Weſtminſter* on the laſt day of *September* following. And in the mean time conſults with his neareſt Kindred and Friends how to ſteer his Proceedings, ſo as to bring his Affairs by prudence to a lucky end, which had hitherto even beyond his hopes been favoured by Fortune. In Order to which, the Duke of *York*, who but a little before had been Governour of the Realm for the King, but now his the ſaid *Lancaſters* great Director, muſt be his beſt *Oracle*, who after divers Debates propoſed it as very expedient, that King *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily Reſign, and alſo be ſolemnly Depoſed by the Eſtates of the Realm; For otherwiſe Reſignation would be imputed only to his Fear: and Deprivation only to their Force, whereof the one is always apt to move Pity, and the other ſtir up Envy: But if both concur, and his deſire be combined with his deſerts, being willing to forſake that which he is adjudged worthy to forfeit, then it will appear that he is neither expelled his Kingdom by meer Conſtraint, nor leave it without juſt Cauſe.

This Advice was generally approved, and accordingly purſued; a Solemn *Renunciation* being tendred unto the King, and by him Signed on *Michaelmas* Day then next following, being the day before the *Parliament* was to meet. The *Words Order*, and *Ceremony* whereof, and of the *Articles* exhi-

exhibited againſt Him, and his *Depoſition* thereupon following in *Parliament*, appear in the *Records* thereof remaining in the *Tower*, Authentick and Atteſted Copies wherefore are Printed in the Book, Intituled, *Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ ſcriptores decem*, beginning *Col.* 2743. From whence the ſame are word for word Tranſlated, as follow.

The Roll of Parliament Summoned and Holden at *Weſtminſter*, in the Feaſt of S. *Fide* the *Virgin*, in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, after the Conqueſt, *Membrane* the 20th.

The Record *and* Proceſs *of the* Renunciation *of King* Richard *the Second, after the Conqueſt, and likewiſe the Acceptance of the ſame* Renunciation, *with the* Depoſition *of the ſame King* Richard *afterwards enſuing.*

BE it remembred, that on Munday the Feaſt of S. *Michael* the *Archangel*, in the Three and twentieth year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and other Perſons of note; that is to ſay, the Lord *Richard le Scroop* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John* biſhop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmorland*; the Lord *Hugh le Burnel*, *Thomas* Lord *de Berkley* Prior of *Canterbury* and Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *William Thyrning* Knight, and *John Markham* Juſtices; *Thomas Stow* and *John Burbache* Doctors of Laws, *Thomas de Erpingham*, and *Thomas Gray*, Knights, *William de* Fe-

Feryby, and *Dionisius Lapham*, Publick Notaries, first deputed to the Act under written, by the Assent and Advice of several of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Judges and others skilful, as well in the Civil and Canon Law, as in the Law of the Realm, Assembled at *Westminster* in the usual place of Council; did about Nine of the Clock come to the Presence of the said King, being within the *Tower* of *London*: And it being Recited before the said King, by the said Earl of *Northumberland*, in the behalf of all the rest before named, so as aforesaid joyned with him; How the said King heretofore at *Coneway* in *North-Wales*, being at Liberty, did promise unto the Lord *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he would yield up and renounce the Crown of *England* and *France* and his Regal Majesty, for Causes of his *Inability* and *Insufficiency* there by the said King himself confessed, and that in the best manner and form as the same could be done, as Councel learned should best order. The said King before the said Lords and others above named, hereunto benignly answering, *That he would with Effect accomplish, what before in that behalf he had promised.* But desired to have some discourse with his Cousins, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the said Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, before he fulfilled such his promise.

Afterwards the same day after Dinner, the said King much affecting the coming of the said Duke of *Lancaster*, and having long waited for him; at last the said Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lords, and others above named, and also the said Archbi-

ſhop of *Canterbury*, did come to the Preſence of The ſaid King in the *Tower* aforeſaid; The Lords *de Roos*, *de Willoughby*, and *de Abergeny*, and very many others being then there preſent; and after the ſaid King had had diſcourſe with the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* and Archbiſhop, exhibiting a *merry Countenance* here and there amongſt them to part thereof, as appeared to thoſe that ſtood round about; at laſt the ſaid King calling to him all that were there preſent, did publickly ſay before them, that he was ready to make the Renunciation; and to renounce and recede, according to the Promiſe by him made, as aforeſaid. And ſo forthwith, although, as was ſaid unto him, he might have made ſome Deputy to have ſerved as the Organ of his Voice, for avoiding ſo tedious a labour as the reading of the ſaid Ceſſion and Renunciation, reduced by others into a Schedule of Parchment. Yet the ſaid King, very willingly as appeared, and with a *pleaſant Countenance*, holding the ſaid Schedule in his hand, ſaid, *that he himſelf would read it*, and diſtinctly read the ſame through: And alſo did abſolve all his Leige People, and renounce, and recede, and ſwear, and other things did ſay and pronounce in Reading, and did Subſcribe it with his own hand, as is more fully contained in the ſaid Schedule; the Tenor whereof is ſuch.

THE

THE

RESIGNATION

OF

RICHARD II.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I Richard *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *do* Abſolve *the* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *and other* Prelates *of* Churches *Secular or Regular, of whatſoever Dignity, Degree, State, or Condition they be; The Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Vaſſals, and Valvaſors, and all and every my Leige People whatſoever, Eccleſiaſticks or Seculars, of all the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, by what Name ſoever they are known; from the* Oath of Fealty and Homage, *and* other Oaths *whatſoever to be made, and from all* Bond *or* Tie of Legiance, Royalty, *and* Dominion, *whereby they have been or are obliged or otherwiſe in any manner bound unto me. And I do* Free, Releaſe, *and* Acquit *them and their* Heirs *and* Succeſſors *for ever, from the ſaid* Oaths *and other* Obligations *whatſoever. And I do diſmiſs them free, unlooſen, quit and in full* Immunity,

as far as relates to my Perſon, to every effect of Law which may follow from the Premiſes, or any of them. And I do purely of my own Accord *ſimply and abſolutely in and by the beſt manner, way and form that may be, in theſe Writings,* Renounce and totally Reſign *all Kingly Dignity and Majeſty, and the Crown and Dominion and Power of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and all other my Dominions and Poſſeſſions, or any way belonging or appertaining unto me, by what Name ſoever they may be reckon'd up within the aforeſaid Kingdoms, or elſewhere; And all Right and Colour of Right and Title, Poſſeſſion and Dominion, which at any time I have had, now have, or by any means ſhall have in or to the ſame, or any of them, with their univerſal Rights and Appurtenances, or any Dependences however, on them or any of them: And alſo the Rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and their Adminiſtration, and all manner of* meer and Mixt Empire and Juriſdiction *to me in the ſaid Kingdoms belonging, or that may be belonging; and to the Name of* King, *and the Honour, Regality, and Celſitude Royal, purely, voluntarily, ſimply, and abſolutely by the beſt manner, way and form that the ſame can be done in theſe Writings, I do* Renounce, *and them do totally Reſign, and in Deed and in Word*

diſmiſs

diſmiſs and quit the ſame, and from them do recede for ever. **Saving** *to my Succeſſors Kings of* England, *the Rights to them or any of them belonging, or that ſhall any way belong, in the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and all other the Premiſes for ever. And I do confeſs, acknowledge, repute, and truely and out of* certain knowledge, *do judge my ſelf to have been and to be utterly* inſufficient *and* unuſeful *for the Rule and Goverment of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, with all their Appurtenances: And that for my* notorious demerits *I deſerve to be Depoſed; And I do ſwear upon theſe* Holy Goſpels *of God, by me corporally touched, That I will never Act contrary to the ſaid Reſignation, Renunciation, Diſmiſſion, and Ceſſion; nor any way oppoſe the ſame in Deed or in Word, by my Self or any other or others: Nor will as much as in me lies, permit the ſame publickly or privately to be contraried or oppoſed: But the ſaid* Renunciation, Reſignation, Diſmiſſion and Ceſſion, *will for ever eſteem, ratified, and well-pleaſing, and firmly hold and obſerve the ſame in the whole and in every part; So* God me help *and theſe* Holy Goſpels of God.

I the before named King Richard *do here ſubſcribe my ſelf with my own Hand.*

And presently to the said Renunciation, and Cession, the said King added by word of mouth, *That if it lay in his power, the said Duke of Lancaster should succeed him in his Kingdom.* But Because (as he said,) this did not depend on his pleasure, he did request the said Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *Hereford*, (whom he for that time had constituted his Procurators, to declare; and imitate such his Cession and Renunciation to the States of the Kingdom,) *That they would be pleased to signify to the People, his will and intention in that behalf.* And in token of such his will and intention, did then and there, openly pluck off the Golden Ring of his signet, from his own finger, and put it upon *the finger of the said Duke of Lancaster*, desiring as he affirmed, that the same might be made known to all the States of the Kingdom. Which being done, taking their leaves on both sides they all went out of the said Tower, to return to their Lodgings.

But on the Morrow, viz. *Tuesday* the Feast of S. *Jerome*, in the great Hall at *Westminster*, in the place honourably prepared for holding the Parliament, the said Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*, and *York*, and the Duke of *Lancaster*, and other Dukes, and Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, whose names are under written, and the Commons of the said Kingdom, Assembled in a great multitude in Parliament, being present, and the said Duke of *Lancaster*, being seated in a place, due to his Quality, and the *Chair of State* [or Royal Throne,] being solemnly adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, but then empty, without any body presiding therein; the above named Archbishop of *York*, in the name of himself, and of the said Bishop of

Hereford

Hereford, according to the order of the ſaid King, did publickly declare the Ceſſion, and Renunciation, to have been ſo made by him as aforeſaid, with the ſubſcription of his Royal Hand, and delivery of his Signet. And the ſaid Ceſſion, and Renunciation, did there cauſe to be read by another, firſt in *Latin*, and then in *Engliſh*.

Immediately after which, it was demanded of the Eſtates and People their preſent, (to wit, firſt of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom by reaſon of the dignity, and prerogative of his metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, it belongs in this behalf, to have the firſt voice amongſt the reſt of the Prelates, and Nobles of the Realm,) whether *for their intereſt and the utility of the Kingdom, they would be pleaſed to admit ſuch Renunciation, and Ceſſion.* And the ſaid States, and People, judging from the Cauſes by the ſaid king himſelf, in his Renunciation, and Ceſſion aforeſaid, ſignified, that the ſame was very expedient, did each man ſingly by himſelf, and in Common with the People, unanimouſly Admit the ſaid Ceſſion, and Renunciation.

After which Admiſſion, it was then and there publickly declared, that beſides ſuch Ceſſion, and Renunciation, ſo as aforeſaid admitted, It would be very expedient and profitable to the Kingdom, for the removing of all Scruples, and taking away ſiniſter ſuſpitions, That very many Crimes, and Defects by the ſaid King, (about the ill Governance of his Kingdom) very often committed, reduced into writing by way of Articles, by reaſon of which (as himſelf affirmed in the Ceſſion, by him made) he was deſervedly to be depoſed, ſhould be publickly read, and declared to the Peo-

ple.

ple. And ſo the greateſt part of the ſaid Articles were then and there read through. The Tenour of all which Articles is ſuch.

[*But yet in the Roll before the Articles, there are firſt theſe words,*] Here followeth the form of the Oath, uſed and accuſtomed to be taken by the Kings of *England* at their Coronation: which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath uſed to require and receive from the ſaid Kings, as in the Book of the Pontifical Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, more fully is contained.

Which Oath, *Richard* the Second, after the Conqueſt of *England*, did take at his Coronation: and the ſame was adminiſtred by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the very ſame Oath, the King afterwards repeated, as in the Rolls of the *Chancery*, may more fully be found of Record.

Thou ſhalt keep to the Church of God, and People, Intire Peace and Concord in God, according to thy power. The King ſhall anſwer, *I will keep them.*

Thou ſhalt in all thy Judgements cauſe to be done, equal and right Juſtice, and diſcretion, in mercy, and in Truth, according to thy power. —He ſhall anſwer, *I will do ſo.*

Thou doſt grant the juſt Laws and Cuſtomes, as ſhall be held, and doſt promiſe the ſame ſhall by thee be protected, and for the Honour of God Corroborated, quas vulgus elegerit, *which the People ſhall chuſe, to the utmoſt of thy power.* —He ſhall anſwer, *I do ſo grant and promiſe.*

To the aforeſaid Queſtions, ſuch others are added as ſhall be juſt, and all things being ſo pronounced the King by his own Oath on the Altar, before all the Aſſembly, Confirms and Promiſes, that he will keep and obſerve the ſame. Then

[Then follow]

THE

OBJECTIONS or ARTICLES

Againſt the King, touching his Depoſition.

I. *Imprimis*, It is objected againſt King *Richard*, that whereas by reaſon of his ill Government, *viz.* His giving away the Goods and Poſſeſſions belonging to his Crown, and that to Perſons unworthy, and his indiſcreet ſquandering the ſame away otherwiſe, and to that end, impoſing without cauſe Collections and other grievous burthens on his People, more than they were able to bear, and alſo innumerable other Evils by his aſſent and Command perpetrated, there were by the whole Parliament certain Prelates, and others, Temporal Lords, Elected and Aſſigned, who might with all their power, and at their own Charges, faithfully labour about the juſt Government of the Realm. Yet the King cauſing a Conventicle to be held by him, with his accomplices, the ſaid Lords, as well Spiritual, as Temporal, ſo occupied about the ſafety and profit of the Kingdom, did propoſe to impeach of High Treaſon; and did violently draw the Judges of the Kingdom, for fear of Death, and Corporal Tortures, to ſuch his wicked purpoſe, moſt vigorouſly ſtriving to deſtroy the ſaid Lords.

II. *Item*, The ſaid King lately at *Shrewsbury*, cauſed ſeveral, and the greater part of the Judges, to come

come before him and his Favourites privatly in a Chamber, and by Menaces, and Various Terrors, as ſuch affrightments as might fall even upon men of conſtant Reſolutions, did induce, cauſe, and compel them, ſeverally to anſwer certain Queſtions there propounded, on the behalf of the King; concerning the Laws of his Kingdom, beſides, and againſt their will, and otherwiſe than they would have anſwered, had they been at Liberty, and unforced. By colour of which anſwers, the ſaid King purpoſed to have proceeded afterwards, to the deſtruction of *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, and other Lords, againſt whoſe deeds and behaviour the ſaid King was much incenſed, chiefly becauſe they deſired the ſaid King to be under good Guidance; But Providence withſtanding it, by the reſiſtance and power of the ſaid Lords, the King was not able to bring ſuch his deſign to effect.

III. *Item*, When the Lords Temporal defending themſelves, had withſtood his malice and fraud, and the ſaid King had prefix'd a day for holding his Parliament to do them, and other Inhabitants of the Realm, Juſtice in that behalf, and the ſaid Temporal Lords, were quietly and peaceably gone home, and at Reſt in their houſes, in hope and confidence of the ſaid Parliament, the King ſecretly ſent the Duke of *Ireland* with his Letters and Standard towards *Cheſter*, and there gathered multitudes in Arms; and cauſed them to riſe againſt the ſaid Lords, the Nobles of the Kingdom, and Servants of the State, publickly erecting his Standard, againſt the Peace which he had Sworn to keep. From whence ſlaughters of men, Captivities, Diſſentions, and

and other infinite miſchiefs, did enſue throughout the whole Kingdom, By which Act he became Guilty of Perjury.

IV. *Item*, Although the ſaid King had in full Parliament, and by the aſſent thereof, Pardoned the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, and all their Aſſiſtants, and others, all offences, and had for many years ſhown Signs of Peace and Love, to the ſaid Duke and Earls, and to the reſt appeared with a pleaſant and benign Countenance, Yet the ſaid King always, and continually bearing Gall in his Heart, did at laſt, taking an Opportunity, cauſe the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Uncle of him the ſaid King, and alſo the Son of *Edward* late King of *England*, of happy memory, and Conſtable of *England*, then humbly going to meet the ſaid King, in ſolemn Proceſſion; and the ſaid Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, to be taken and Arreſted; and him the ſaid Duke out of the Kingdom of *England*, to the Town of *Callice* did cauſe to be led, and there impriſoned; and under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Nottingham*, (and of the Appellors of the ſaid Duke,) detained, and without anſwer, or any lawful proceſs whatſoever, did inhumanely, and cruelly cauſe to be ſuffocated, ſtrangled, and *murdered*. And the Earl of *Arundel* though he pleaded as well the General Pardon, as a Pardon afterwards to him ſpecially granted, and deſired juſtice to be done him, yet in his Parliament, encompaſſed with armed men, and innumerable Archers of the People by him gathered to that purpoſe by Preſſing, did damnably cauſe to be Beheaded. And the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Cobham*, did commit to perpetual Impriſonment: wickedly

wickedly and againſt Juſtice, and the Laws of his Kingdom and his expreſs Oath, confiſcating their Lands and Tenements, as well Fee-ſimple, as Fee-tail, from them and their Heirs, and giving the ſame to their Appellors.

V. *Item*, At the ſame time, that the King in his Parliament, cauſed the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, to be adjudged; that he might more freely exerciſe his Cruelty upon them, and accompliſh his injurious will in other matters, he gathered to himſelf a great multitude of Malefactors of the County of *Cheſter*, of whom ſome paſſing with the King through the Kingdom, as well within the Kings Pallace, as without, did cruelly kill the Liege Subjects of the Kingdom, and ſome they beat and wounded, and did plunder the Goods of the People, and refuſe to pay for their Victuals, and did Raviſh and Violate their Wives, and other Women; and though their were grievous Complaints, of ſuch their exceſſes brought to the hearing of the ſaid King; Yet the ſaid King did not regard to cauſe Juſtice to be done, or any Remedy thereupon, but did favour the ſaid Troops in ſuch their evil doings, truſting in them and their Gaurd, againſt all others of his Kingdom; for which cauſe, the faithful People of his Kingdom, had great matter of Commotion, and Indignation.

VI. *Item*, Although the ſaid King by his writs, cauſed Proclamation to be made throughout the whole Kingdom, that he had cauſed his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to be taken and Arreſted, not for any Aſſemblings or Troopings by them, formerly made within

within the Kingdom of *England*, but for very many Extortions, Oppreſſions, and other things by them afterwards done, and perpetrated, againſt his Royalty, and Kingly Majeſty; And that it was not his Intention, that any of the Family of the ſaid Duke, and Earls, or of their followers at the time of ſuch Aſſembling, and Trooping, ſhould for that occaſion be moleſted, or aggrieved; Yet the ſaid King at laſt, in his Parliament, did not Impeach the ſaid Lords for Extortions, Oppreſſions, or any ſuch matters, but for the Aſſemblings, and Troopings aforeſaid, did adjudge them to Death, and very many of the Family of the ſaid Lords, and others, who were following them at the time of ſuch their Aſſembling, and Trooping, he did, for fear of Death, force to make Fine and Ranſom, as Traytors, or Rebels, to the great deſtruction of a great Number of his People. And ſo he did ſubtily, fraudulently, and maliciouſly, deceive the ſaid Lords, and their familiars, and the People of his Kingdom.

VII. *Item*, After very many of thoſe Perſons ſo making Fine and Ranſom, had obtained of the King, his Letters Patent of full Pardon in the Premiſes, they could not reap any Commodity by ſuch Letters of Pardon, till they had made new Fine, and Ranſoms, for ſaving of their Life, whereby very many were Impoveriſhed; which was a great Derogation and diſhonour to the Name and State of a King.

VIII. *Item*, In the Laſt Parliament, held at *Shrewſbury*, the ſaid King purpoſing to oppreſs his People, ſubtily procured and cauſed it to be granted, that the *power of the Parliament by the conſent of the States*

of

of his Kingdom, ſhall remain in certain Perſons, to determine (after the diſſolution of the Parliament,) certain Petitions in the ſaid Parliament exhibited, but then not diſpatched. By Colour of which grant, the Perſons ſo deputed, proceeded to other things generally touching that Parliament. And this with the will of the King; in Derogation of the ſtate of Parliament, & the great dammage of the whole Kingdom, and pernitious Example. And that they might ſeem to have ſome Colour and Authority, for ſuch their doings, the King called the Parliament Rolls to be altered and blotted at his pleaſure, againſt the Effect of the ſaid Grant.

IX. *Item*, Notwithſtanding the ſaid King in his Coronation had ſworn, *That in all his Judgments, he would cauſe to be done equal and right Juſtice, and diſcretion, in mercy and truth, according to his power*; Yet the ſaid King rigorouſly without all mercy did (amongſt other things) Ordain, under grievous penalties, that none ſhould ſue for any favour, or intercede with the ſaid King, for *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, being Baniſhed, whereby the ſaid King did act againſt the Bond of Charity, raſhly violating his Oath aforeſaid.

X. *Item*, Although the Crown of the Kingdom of *England*, and the Rights of the ſaid Crown, and that Kingdom it ſelf, have in all time paſt been ſo free, that our Lord the *Pope*, nor any other without the Kingdom, ought to concern himſelf about the ſame; Yet the aforeſaid King, for the Corroboration of ſuch his erroneous ſtatutes, did make ſupplication to our Lord the *Pope*, that he would confirm the ſtatutes ordained his laſt Parliament, whereupon our Lord the King obtained the *Apo-*

ſtolick

ſtolick Letters, in which grievous Cenſures are denounced againſt any that ſhould preſume in any thing to act contrary to the ſaid ſtatutes; all which are well known to tend againſt the Crown, and Royal dignity, and againſt the Statutes and Liberties of the ſaid Kingdom.

XI. *Item*, Although the Lord *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the Kings Command had preferred his *Bill* touching the *State and Honour of the King*, againſt the *Duke of Norfolk*, and the ſame had duely proſecuted; ſo that according to the Kings Order, he had exhibited himſelf in all Points prepared for the *Combate*. And the ſaid King had declared, that the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* had honourably performed his *Devoir*, as much as in him lay, and this by a *Decree* publickly Proclaimed before all the people Aſſembled at the ſaid *Combate*: Yet the ſaid King without any Legal Reaſon whatſoever, did cauſe and command the ſaid Duke to be Baniſht for ten Years, againſt all Juſtice, and Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, and the Law of War in that behalf, thereby damnably incurring Perjury.

XII. *Item*, After the ſaid King had graciouſly granted by his Letters Patents, to the Lord *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaſter*, that in his abſence whilſt he was *baniſht*, his General Attorneys might proſecute for *Livery* to him to be made of all manner of Inheritances or Succeſſions belonging unto him, and that his *Homage* ſhould be reſpited, paying a certain reaſonable *Fine*; he injuriouſly did revoke the ſaid Letters Patent againſt the Laws of the Land, thereby incurring the Crime of Perjury.

XIII. *Item*,

XIII. *Item*, Notwithſtanding that it was *Enacted*, that every Year the *Officers* of the King with his Juſtices and others of the Kings Council, ſhould chooſe *Sheriffs* for all the Counties of *England*, and name them to our Lord the King, according as to their Diſcretion and Conſcience ſhould ſeem expedient, for the good and utility of the Kingdom; the ſaid King hath cauſed perſons to be made Sheriffs, *not ſo nominated or elected*, but other according to the *Capricio's* of his pleaſure, ſometimes his *Favourites* or *Creatures*, and ſometimes ſuch as he knew would not oppoſe his humour, for his own and others private advantage, to the great *grievance* of his People, and againſt the Laws of his Kingdom, thereby notoriouſly incurring Perjury.

XIV. *Item*, At ſuch time as the aforeſaid King requeſted and had of very many Lords and others of his Kingdom, divers Sums of Money by way of *Loan*, to be paid again at a certain term, notwithſtanding the ſaid King faithfully promiſed by his ſeveral Letters Patent to the ſeveral perſons of whom he borrowed the ſaid Moneys, that at the term limited as aforeſaid, he would repay the ſame, yet he did not fulfill ſuch his Promiſe, nor are they yet ſatisfied the ſaid Moneys, whereby ſuch Creditors are much agrieved, and not only they, but many others of the Kingdom repute the King unfaithfull.

XV. *Item*,

XV. *Item*, Whereas the King of *England* by the Revenue of his Kingdom, and the Patrimony belonging to his *Crown*, is able to live honestly, without the oppression of his People, as long as the Kingdom is not burthen'd with the Charge of *Wars*; yet the said King in a manner for his whole time during the *Truces* between the Kingdom of *England* and its Adversaries, hath not only given away a great, yea indeed the greatest part of his said Patrimony, and this to unworthy Persons: But also hath further imposed on his Subjects so many Burdens of Monies granted, as it were every year of his Reign, that thereby he hath extreamly and too excessively oppressed his People, to the Impoverishment of his Kingdom; Not converting the Goods so levied to the Commodity and profit of the Kingdom of *England*, but prodigally squandering it away for the Ostentation of his Name, and in Pomp and Vain-glory: Whilst great Sums of Money are owing in his Kingdom for the *Victuals* of his Houshould, and other things bought, though he hath abounded with Riches and Treasures more than any of his Progenitors.

XVI. *Item*, The said King not willing to keep or Protect the just Laws and Customs of his Kingdom, but according to his Arbitrary Will, to do whatsoever should occur to his Desires, sometimes and very often, when the Laws of his Kingdom have been expounded and declared to him by the Judges and others of his Council; and that they have desired that he would do Justice according to those Laws, hath expresly and with an angry and haughty Countenance, said, *That his Laws were in his Mouth*, and sometimes, *That they were in his*

Breaſt: And that *he himſelf alone could make and change the Laws of his Kingdom.* And being ſeduced with that Opinion, did not ſuffer Juſtice to be done to very many of his Leige People, but by Threats and Terrors hath forced very many to ceaſe from the proſecution of Common Juſtice.

XVII. *Item*, That after certain Statutes had been made in *Parliament*, which always bind, till they are ſpecially revok'd by the Authority of another Parliament. The ſaid King deſiring to enjoy ſuch Liberty that no ſuch Statutes ſhould ſo bind him, but that he might do and execute his pleaſure, ſubtily procured a Petition to be preferred in his *Parliament* on the behalf of the *Commonalty* of his *Kingdom*, and to be granted to him in general, *That he might be as free as any of his Progenitors were before him:* By colour of which *Petition* and *Conceſſion* the ſaid *King* hath very often commanded very many things to be done againſt ſuch Statutes unrepealed; acting therein expreſly and knowingly againſt his *Oath* taken in his *Coronation* as aforeſaid.

XVIII. *Item*, Although it was *Enacted* and *Ordained*, that no *Sheriff* ſhould hold his *Office* above *one year* together, but that three years ſhould paſs, before he ſhould be again admitted to that *Office:* The ſaid *King Richard* ſometimes for his own *ſingle Commodity*, and ſometimes at the inſtance of *others*, for their advantage, hath permitted and cauſed certain Sheriffs to ſtand and remain continually in their *Offices*, ſometimes two, ſometimes three Years, againſt the Tenor and effect of the Statute aforeſaid, thereby incurring *Perjury*; and this is notorious, publick, and generally ill ſpoken of.

XIX. *Item*,

XIX. *Item*, Although by the *Statute* and *Custom* of his Realm in the calling together of every *Parliament*, his People in ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, ought to be *free* in chooſing and deputing two Knights to be preſent in ſuch Parliament for each reſpective County, and to declare their Grievances, and to proſecute ſuch *Remedies* thereupon, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient. Yet the aforeſaid King, that in his Parliaments he might be able more freely to accompliſh the effects of his head-ſtrong will, did very often direct his *Command to his Sheriffs*, that they ſhould cauſe to come to his Parliaments as Knights of the Shire, certain Perſons by the ſaid King named; which Knights being his Favourites he might lead, as often as he has done, ſometimes by various *Menaces* and *Terrors*, and ſometimes by *Gifts*, to conſent to thoſe things as were *prejudicial* to the *Kingdom*, and exceeding burthenſom to the People; And eſpecially to grant to the ſaid *King* a *Subſidy* on Wooll for the *term of his Life*, and another *Subſidy* for certain Years, thereby too grievouſly oppreſſed his People.

XX. *Item*, the ſaid *King* that he might more freely fulfil and follow in every thing his own *Arbitrary Will*, did unlawfully cauſe and command, That the *Sheriffs* throughout his whole Realm, beſides their ancient *acciuſtomed Oath*, ſhould *ſwear* that they would *obey his commands*, as often as they ſhould be directed to them, under his Great and Privy Seal, and alſo his Letters under his Signet. And that in caſe the ſaid Sheriffs could come to know that any within their *Bailiwicks* of whatſoever condition they were, had publickly or ſe-

cretly ſaid or ſpoken any ill, that might tend to the diſgrace or ſcandal of his *Royal Perſon*, they ſhould Arreſt and impriſon them; there ſafely to be kept till they ſhould receive Command from the King to the contrary, as may be found in the Record; which Fact may probably tend to the deſtruction of many of the Liege People to the ſaid Kingdom.

XXI. *Item*, The ſaid *King* ſtriving to trample under foot his People, and ſubtily to acquire their Goods to himſelf, that he might abound in ſuperfluous Riches, did cauſe the People of Seventeen Counties of the Realm to ſubmit themſelves to the *King* as *Traitors*, by Letters under their Seals: By colour whereof he got mighty Sums of Money to be granted him by the *Clergy* and *People* of thoſe Counties, for obtaining his Royal good Will and Favour; And though to pleaſe the People, the King had cauſed thoſe Obligatory Letters to be reſtored, yet the *Procurators* of the People having full Power granted them to oblige themſelves and their Heirs to the ſaid King; he the ſaid King cauſed them under their Seals to be bound to him in the Name of the ſaid People, and ſo deceived his people, and Subtily extorted from them their Goods.

XXII. *Item*, Although the ſaid King in his *Coronation* had ſworn to keep the *Liberties* granted to the *Anglicane Church*, yet the ſaid *King* by reaſon of his Voyage into *Ireland*, did by his Letters command very many *Religious Perſons*, viz. *Abbots* and *Priors* of his Kingdom, ſtrictly requiring, that ſome of them ſhould ſend to him certain *Horſes*, and ſome of them not only *Horſes*,

but

but also *Waggons* and *Carriages* for his said Voyage, or in lieu thereof great Sums of Money in the said Letters expressed: By which manner of Writing he forced many of such *Religious* out of fear to fulfil his Will and Command, whereby they were heavily *impoverisht* and *oppress* in manifest derogation of *Ecclesiastical Liberty*; by which Pretext the said *King Richard* did incur *Perjury*.

XXIII. *Item*, In most of the great Royal Councils, when the Lords of the Realm, the Judges and others, being charg'd that they would faithfully Council the *King* in Matters relating to his *State*, and that of his *Kingdom*: The said Lords, Justices, and others, very often in giving Counsel according to their best Discretion, have been by the *King* suddenly and so *fiercely chidden* and *reproved*, that they have not dared to speak the Truth, in giving their Advice for the *State* of the *King* and *Kingdom*.

XXIV. *Item*, The *Treasures*, *Crowns*, *Reliques*, and other *Jewels*, viz. *The Goods of the Kingdom*, which time out of mind have been Repositted in the Treasury of the *Kingdom*, for the *Honour* of the *King*, and preservation of his *Kingdom*, against any sudden *Event* or *Exigency*; the said *King* Going out of his *Kingdom* into *Ireland*, did take away, and caused the same to be carried with him, *without the consent of the States of the Kingdom*: Whereby this *Kingdom* had been vastly impoverisht, if *God* by the retaking of the said Goods against the said *Kings* Will, had not otherwise provided. And furthermore the said *King* did cause *the Rolls of Records* touching the *State* and *Govern-*

ment of his *Kingdom* uo be *deſtroyed* and *raſed*, to the great prejudice of his People and diſinheriting the *Crown* of the ſaid *Kingdom*: And all this, as 'tis probably believed, in favour and ſupport of his *evil Governance*.

XXV. *Item*, The ſaid *King* was wont as it were perpetually to be ſo variable and diſſembling in his Words and Writings, and ſo contrary to himſelf and eſpecially in writing to the *Pope*, and to *Kings*, and other Lords out of the *Kingdom*, and within it, and alſo to others his Subjects, that *no man living* that knew his Conditions could or would *confide* in him; nay, he was reputed ſo unfaithful and unconſtant, that it became *ſcandalous* not only to his own perſon, but alſo to the whole *Kingdom*, and eſpecially amongſt Foreigners of all the World that came to know the ſame.

XXVI. *Item*, Although *The Land and Tenements, the Goods and Chattels of every Freeman by the Laws of the Realm uſed from all time heretofore*, ought not to be taken from him unleſs they be *forfeited*: Yet the ſaid *King* purpoſing and longing to weaken ſuch Laws, in the preſence of very many Lords and others of the commonalty of the *Kingdom*, hath frequently ſaid and affirmed--*That the Life of every one of his Subjects, and his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, are his* (the ſaid Kings) *at his will and pleaſure, without any forfeiture*; Which is utterly againſt the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Kingdom* aforeſaid.

XXVII. *Item*, Although it was Enacted and Ordained, and is hitherto Confirmed, *That no Freeman ſhall be taken*, &c. *nor any way deſtroyed*; *and that the King ſhall not paſs, nor ſend any to paſs upon*

upon him, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land: Yet by the Will, Command and Order of the ſaid King, very many of his Liege People being *maliciouſly accuſed* for having publickly or ſecretly ſaid ſomething that might tend to the diſyraiſe, ſcandal, or diſgrace of the perſon of the ſaid King, have been taken and Impriſoned, and brought before the *Conſtable* and *Marſhal* of *England* in the *Court Military*, in which Court the ſaid *Liege People* being accuſed would not be admitted to make any other *Anſwer*, than that they were no way guilty, and would juſtifie the ſame and defend themſelves by *their Bodies*, and not otherwiſe; notwithſtanding their *Appellors* were *young men*, ſtout and luſty, and thoſe ſo accuſed, *antient, and impotent, maim'd or infirm*; Whereby not only deſtruction of the *Lords* and *grandees* of the *Kingdom*, but alſo of all and ſingular perſons of the Commonalty of the ſame may probably enſue: Since therefore the ſaid King hath wilfully acted contrary to ſuch a *Statute* of his *Kingaom*, 'tis not to be doubted but he hath thereby incurred the Crime of *Perjury*.

XXVIII. *Item*, Although the People of the *Realm* of *England*, by vertue of their *Leigeance* are fully enough bound to their *King*, and the ſaid *King* by the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of his *Kingdom*, is enabled to Correct and puniſh his People if in any kind they *Tranſgreſs*; yet the ſaid *King* deſiring to trample on, and too much oppreſs his People, that he might the more freely execute and follow the Humour of his *fooliſh and unlawful Will*, by his *Letters* to all the *Counties* of his *Kingdom*, did Injoyn and Command, That all his Subjects, as

well *Spiritual* as *Temporal*, ſhould make *certain Oaths in general* which were too grievous to them, and which might probably cauſe the *final deſtruction* of his People; and that they ſhould confirm ſuch their *Oaths* under their Letters and Seals. To which Royal Command, the People of his *Kingdom* did ſubmit and pay Obedience that they might not incur his Indignation or Diſpleaſure, and alſo for fear of Death.

XXIX. *Item*, When Parties contending in the *Eccleſiaſtical Court* in *Cauſes* meerly *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Spiritual*, had endeavoured to obtain from the *Chancellor* of *England*, Prohibitions to hinder the lawful Proceſs in the ſaid Courts; and the ſaid *Chancellor* had juſtly refuſed to grant the ſame, yet the ſaid *King* by Letters under his *Signet*, has frequently prohibited the *Eccleſiaſtical Judges* to proceed in ſuch Cauſes, thereby evilly infringing the *Liberties of the Church* in the *Grand Charter* approved, to the Conſervation whereof he was *ſworn*, and damnably incurring *Perjury*, and the Sentence of *Excommunication*, againſt ſuch *Violators* thereof, by the Holy Fathers pronounced.

XXX. *Item*, The ſaid King without any reaſonable or lawful cauſe whatſoever, or any other proceſs of Law, did in his Parliament, encompaſs'd in warlike manner by armed men, adjudge *Thomas* of *Arundel*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, his Spiritual Father, abſenting himſelf by the Treacherous Counſell of the ſaid King, to Baniſhment againſt the Laws of his Kingdom, ſo by him ſworn to, as aforeſaid.

XXXI. *Item*, By inſpection of the Teſtament of the ſaid King; Sealed with the Great and Privy Seal,

Seal, and also with his Signet, among other things there is contained this clause or Article.—'*Item*, 'we will that the residue of our Gold (the true 'debts of our House-hold, *Chamber*, and *Wardrobe* 'being paid, for payment whereof we bequeath 'Twenty Thousand Marks, reserving to our Exe-'cutors, Five or Six Thousand Marks: which wee 'will by them to be expended towards the more 'plentiful maintainance of the Lepers, and Chap-'lains, to celebrate before them, by us founded at '*Westminster*, and *Barmondesye*) shall remain to our 'Successor, provided alwaies that he approve ra-'tify and confirm, and hold, and cause to be hol-'den, and firmly observed, all and singular, the Sta-'tutes, Ordinances, and Judgments, made, given, 'and rendred in our Parliament, begun at *West-'minster*, the 17th day of the Month *September*, 'in the one and Twentieth Year of our Reign, and 'in the same Parliament, continued at *Shrewsbury*, 'and there holden, and also, all the Ordinances, 'Judgments, and Establishments, the 16th day of '*September*, in the 22th Year of our Reign, at '*Coventry*, and afterwards at *Westminster*, the 18th 'day of *March*, in the Year aforesaid, by the Au-'thority of the said Parliament. And likewise all 'other Ordinances, and Judgments, which shall 'hereafter happen to be made by Authority of the 'said Parliament: But otherwise, if our said Suc-'cessor shall refuse to do the Premises. (which we 'do not believe) Then we will that *Thomas* Duke 'of *Surry*, *Edward* Duke d' *Aumale*, *John* Duke 'of *Exeter*, and *William le Scrope*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, '(paying first the Debts of our *Houshould*, our *Cham-'ber*, and our *Wardrobe*, and reserving Five or Six

'Thou-

'Thouſand Marks, as aboveſaid,) ſhall have and 'hold all the ſaid Reſidue above mentioned, for to 'ſupport and defend the ſaid Statutes, Eſtabliſh-'ments, Ordinances, and Judgments, to their ut-'moſt power, even unto Death, if it be neceſſary; 'Upon all which, and every part, we do hereby 'charge and burden their Conſciences as they will 'anſwer in the day of Judgment. By which Article it may evidently enough appear: That the ſaid King did obſtinately ſtrive to maintain and defend thoſe Statutes, and Ordinances, which are erroneous and unjuſt, and repugnant to all Law and Reaſon. And this not only during his Life, but after his Death too, neither regarding the Peril of his own Soul, nor yet the utter deſtruction of his ſaid Kingdom, or Leige People.

XXXII. *Item*, in the 11th Year of the ſaid King *Richard*, he the ſaid King in the Chappel of his Mannor of *Langley*, in the preſence of the Dukes of *Lancaſter*, and *York*, and very many other Lords, deſiring (as it hath appeared) that his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, then there preſent, ſhould fully confide in the Good will of him the ſaid King, did voluntarily and of his own accord, ſwear before the venerable Sacrament of the Lords Body, there placed upon the Altar, that thenceforwards he would never *endammage, trouble, or grieve him*, the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, for any of his deeds which are ſaid to have been committed againſt the Perſon of him the ſaid King; But did cheerfully and totally forgive him all his offence if any were. Yet afterwards, notwithſtanding ſuch Oath, the ſaid King did horribly and cruelly cauſe the ſaid Duke to be murdered, for ſuch the before pretended

pretended offences, thereby incurring the Guilt of damnable Perjury.

XXXIII, *Item*, After one of the Knigots of the *Shires*, of the ſaid Kingdom, having a voice in Parliament, had Impeached the ſaid Lord *Thomas*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, upon certain defaults, committed againſt the *Kings* Majeſty, as was untruely ſuggeſted: And the ſaid Archbiſhop, preſently then and there offered himſelf ready to anſwer the matters charged upon him; and deſired that he might be thereunto admitted by the *King*, not doubting as he ſaid, but he ſhall be able, ſufficiently to ſhew his Innocence; Yet the ſaid King, contriving by all the ways and means he could, to oppreſs the ſaid Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ruin his Eſtate, (as the Event of the matter has declared) ſpeaking graciouſly, and with a cheerfull countenance of the ſaid Archbiſhop, from his Royal Seat, did adviſe and very earneſtly requeſt him, that at that time, he would hold his Peace, and expect a better and more fit time to make his defence; which day being paſſed, the ſaid King from day to day, for Five days or more, did fraudulently and treacherouſly deceive the ſaid Archbiſhop, counſelling him, and perſwading him, that he would not come to the Parliament, but wait at home without any fear, becauſe, as the ſaid King faithfully did promiſe him, there ſhould not in his abſence any loſs or prejudice be done or happen to him. Notwithſtanding all which, the ſaid King in his Parliament aforeſaid, did in the mean time adjudge the ſaid Archbiſhop to be baniſhed, during the Kings pleaſure, though abſent, and never any way called to anſwer, and without any reaſonable cauſe,

cause whatsoever, and also voluntarily against the Laws of the Kingdom, and all Justice Confiscated all his Goods, whereby he likewise became Guilty of Perjury. But furthermore, the said King being willing to Palliate his Malice and Subtilty, by flattering discourses which he oft-times had with the said Arch-bishop, did endeavour to clear himself of such injury done, and make as if it were the doings of others; insomuch that the Arch-bishop discoursing with the King, and with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Lords, and great men of the Kingdom, And happening to say by way of Lamenting his own Condition, That he was not the first that had suffered Banishment, nor should he be the last; For he thought in a short time the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Lords would follow him, and confidently averred to the King, That all the Rigour of these Proceedings, would finally be returned *back on his own Head*. To which the said King as astonished incontinently replied, *that he verily thought it might so happen, and that he himself might and indeed ought to be expell'd his Kingdom by his Leige People*. And further the King said, that if the same should happen, *He would convey himself to the same place, where the said Archbishop should be*. And that the Archbishop might the rather Credit his words, He shewed him a certain great Jewel, [*Mmile*, a *Brooch* or *Tablet*,] Curiously formed, underneath the skirt of his outward vestment. Intimating for certain to the said Archbishop, that when ever he should send that Jewel for a Token, he would not delay to come thither, where the said Arch-bishop should be resident: And that the said Arch-bishop might more confide

in

in him; the ſaid King ſent to him, adviſing him, that he ſhould Privately ſend all his Jewels, and other things of value, belonging to his Chappel, unto him the ſaid King; For the ſafe keeping thereof, leſt by colour of the before mentioned Judgment, any one ſhould wrongfully ſeize the ſame. Which under the greateſt confidence in the World being done, the ſaid King cauſed him to repoſite the ſaid Goods in certain *Coffers*: and the ſaid *Coffers* to be locked up, and ſealed by one of the Archbiſhops Clerks, and keeping the ſaid *Coffers* by him, returned the Keys thereof by the ſaid Clerk to the Archbiſhop. Yet afterwards unknown to the ſaid Archbiſhop, cauſed the ſaid *Coffers* to be broken open, and diſpoſed of the goods therein, at his will and pleaſure. Furthermore the ſaid King faithfully promiſed the ſaid Archbiſhop, that if he would but repair to the Port of *Hampton*, in order to go out of the Realm, he would at leaſt by the Interceſſion of the Queen, get him Recalled. And if it ſhould happen, that he the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould go out of the Realm, he ſhould without fail return into *England*, before *Eaſter* next following nor ſhould in any kind loſe his Archbiſhoprick: And this he faithfully promiſed, ſwearing upon the Croſs of the late Martyr S. *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by him the ſaid King, corporally touched; all which promiſes notwithſtanding, the ſaid King forced the ſaid Archbiſhop to depart the Realm: And forthwith tranſmitted ſpecial Letters to the Apoſtolical See, to have him Tranſlated. And ſo, and by other Frauds, and deceitful Tricks of the ſaid King, the ſaid Archbiſhop being a well-meaning believing man, was ſubtily circumvented.

AND

AND becauſe it ſeemed to all the Eſtates of the Realm, being asked their Judgments thereupon, as well ſeverally as jointly, That theſe cauſes of Crimes and Defaults were ſufficient and notorious to depoſe the ſaid King; Conſidering alſo his own Confeſſion of his inſufficiency and other things contained in his ſaid Renunciation and Ceſſion, openly delivered, all the ſaid States did unanimouſly conſent, that *ex abundanti*, that they ſhould proceed unto a Depoſition of the ſaid King; for the great ſecurity, and tranquillity of the People, and benefit of the Kingdom. Whereupon the ſaid States and Commons unanimouſly conſtituted, and publickly deputed certain Commiſſioners, *viz.* The Biſhop of S *Aſaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *Thomas Erpyngham*, and Sir *Shomas Grey*, Knights, and *William Thirnyng*, one of the Juſtices, to paſs ſuch ſentence of Depoſition; And to depoſe the ſaid King *Richard*, from all Kingly dignity, Majeſty, and Honour, on the behalf and in the name, and by the Authority of all the ſaid States, as in like Caſes, from the Antient Cuſtom of the ſaid Kingdom had been obſerved. And forthwith the ſaid Commiſſioners taking upon themſelves, the burthen of the ſaid Commiſſion, and ſitting on a Tribunal before the ſaid Royal Chair of State, having firſt had ſome debate of the matter, did on the behalf and in the name, and by the authority aforeſaid, paſs the ſaid Sentence of Depoſition, being reduced into writing, and cauſed ſuch their Sentence to be read and recited by the ſaid Biſhop of *S. Aſaph*, their Collegue, by the Will and Command of the reſt of the ſaid Commiſſioners: In theſe words.

In

IN the Name of God, Amen: *We* John Biſhop *of* Aſaph, John Abbot *of* Glaſſenbury, Thomas *Earl of* Gloceſter, Thomas *Lord* Berkley, Thomas de Erpingham, *and* Thomas Gray, *Knights, and* William Thirnyng *Juſtice, Commiſſioners ſpecially deputed to the matters under written, by the* Peers *and* Lords Spiritual *and* Temporal *of the Kingdom of* England, *and the* Commons *of the ſaid Kingdom; Repreſenting all Eſtates (or Conditions) of the ſaid Realm, ſitting in Tribunal, and having conſidered the multiplyed Perjuries, Cruelty, and very many other Crimes of the ſaid* Richard, *touching his government conmitted and perpetrated in his Kingdomes and Dominions aforeſaid, during the time of his Governance; and before the ſaid States openly and publickly propounded, exhibited, and recited; Which have been and are ſo publick, notorious, manifeſt, and ſcandalous, that they could not nor can be concealed with denial or excuſe. And conſidering likewiſe the confeſſion of the ſaid* Richard, *acknowledging and reputing, and truly, and of his own certain knowledge, judging himſelf to have been and to be utterly inſufficient and unmeet for the rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and their Appurtenances, and for ſuch his notorious demerits, worthy to be depoſed,*

ſed, as by him the ſaid Richard, *was before declared, and by his Will and Command, publiſhed before the ſaid States, and made known and expoſed to them in the vulgar* Tongue, *having already had diligent deliberation upon theſe things and all others, tranſacted in this Affair before the ſaid States and us: We do on the behalf and in the name, and by the Authority to us in this matter committed,* ex abundanti, *and for Caution Pronounce, decree and declare him the ſaid* Richard, *to have been, and to be unfit, unable, and utterly inſufficient for, and unworthy of, the Rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms, and the Dominion, and Rights, and Appurtenances of the ſame, and for any by reaſon of the Premiſſes, to be deſervedly depoſed of, and from all Royal Dignity and Honour, if any thing of ſuch Dignity and Honour were yet remaining in him. And with the ſame Caution we do Depoſe him by this our deffinitive ſentence in writing; Expreſly forbiding all and ſingular the* Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *and* Prelates, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vaſſals, *and* Valvaſſors, *and other Subjects, and Leige people of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominion, and other places to the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominion belonging, that henceforth none of them ſhall any way obey or Regard the ſaid* Richard, *as King or Lord of the ſaid Kingdom and Dominion.*

Further-

Furthermore the ſaid States willing that nothing ſhould be wanting which might be of value, or ought to be required touching the Premiſſes, being ſeverally interrogated thereupon, did conſtitute the ſame Perſons that were before nominated Commiſſioners, to be their Procurators, joyntly and ſeverally to reſign and give back to the ſaid King *Richard*, the *Homage* and *Fealty* to him before made, and to intimate to him, if it ſhould be requiſite, all the Premiſes, touching ſuch his Depoſition and Renunciation.

And then preſently, as ſoon as it appeared by the Premiſes, and the occaſion of them, That the Crown of *England*, with its Appurtenances was vacant, the aforeſaid *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* riſing up from his place, and ſtanding ſo erected as he might conveniently be ſeen by the People, and humbly fortifying himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs on his Forehead, and on his Breaſt, having alſo firſt called upon the name of Chriſt, did claim the ſaid Kingdom ſo vacant as aforeſaid, with its Crown and all its Members and Appurtenances; In this form of words in his Mother Tongue.

IN the name of Fader, Son, and Holy Goſt, I Henry of Lancaſter, chalenge this Rewme of Yndlonde, and the Croun with all the Members, and the Appurtenances, als I that am deſcendit, be Right Line of the Blode, comyng fro the Gude Lord King Henry Therde, and thorghe that right that God of eis Grace hath ſent mee, with helpe of my Kyn, and of my Frendes to recover it; The which Rewme was in poynt to be ondone for defaut of Govornance, and undoyng of the Gude Lawes.

After which Claim and Challenge, as well the Lords Spiritual as Temporal, and all the States there preſent, being ſeverally and joyntly interrogated, what they thought of that Claim? The ſaid States with the whole People without any difficulty or delay, did unanimouſly conſent, that the ſaid Duke ſhould Reign over them. And forthwith, as the ſaid King ſhewed to the States of the Kingdom, the Signet of King *Richard*, delivered to him as a token of his will, that he ſhould ſucceed him as aforeſaid, the ſaid Archbiſhop taking the ſaid King *Henry* by the Right Hand, led him to the Royal Chair of State: And after the ſaid King kneeling down before it, had prayed a little while, the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of *York*, did place the ſaid King, and cauſe him to ſit in the ſaid Royal Seat; All the people

people wonderfully ſhouting for joy, and by and by the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having with much ado, procured ſilence from the over joy'd multitude, made a ſhort diſcourſe, or Oration in theſe words.

Vir Dominabitur populo, *A man ſhall Reign over my people*, 1 Sam. 9. 17. *Theſe are the words of the King of Kings ſpeaking to* Samuel, *and teaching him how a perſon ſhould be qualified to Rule, ſince the people deſired to have a* King *given. And not unfitly may they be ſaid of our Lord the King whom we behold this day, and if we but intimately conſider theſe words, they afford us matter of great Conſolation; for God does not threaten us as he did formerly his people by* Iſaiah, *ſaying*, Iſa. 3. I will make Children to rule over them; *But according to his Compaſſion, who in his wrath remembreth mercy, he hath viſited his people, and now no more Children (as heretofore) ſhall Lord it over them. For the Lord ſaith to them,* **A man ſhall Rule**: *Of the late Rulers of this Kingdom, or any of them, one might have fitly ſaid that of the Apoſtle,* Cor. 13. I ſpake as a Child, I underſtood as a Child, I thought as a Child. *The Apoſtle repeats it thrice,* As a Child, I ſpake, I underſtood and thought. *As to* ſpeech *'tis certain that a Child is* unconſtant *in ſpeak-*

ing, he eaſily ſpeaks true, and as eaſily falſe, is ready in words to promiſe, but what he promiſes he preſently forgets. Now theſe are things very inconvenient and dangerous in a King; nor is it poſſible that any Realm ſhall ſtand long in happineſs where theſe Conditions bear ſway. But from ſuch miſchiefs a Kingdom is freed, whoſe Scepter *is ſway'd by a* Man; *for it belongs to a* Man *to ſet a watch before his Tongue; and ſuch is our preſent happineſs, over whom not a* Child, *but a* Man *is ſet, and ſuch an one, as I hope we may ſay of him That in* Eccleſ 9 Bleſſed is the man that hath not erred with his Tongue, *Then ſaith the Apoſtle,* I underſtood as a Child: *Now a Child refuſes nothing but* flatteries *and* pleaſing *things, and underſtands only* Bawbles *and* Trifles, *and loves not one that argues according to truth, yea indeed hates him beyond all meaſure. But heretofore amongſt us* Truth *was trampled under foot, ſo that none durſt ſpeak it; and therefore 'tis plain and apparent enough, that* He *that then Reign'd* underſtood as a Child. *For a* Man *is not addicted to ſuch things, but underſtands wiſdom, ſo that by the Grace of God it may be ſaid of him, as it is written* Eccleſ 9. Bleſſed is the man that abideth in wiſdom. *For as a Child is delighted in* Vanity, *ſo a man has regard to* Truth *and* Wiſdom: *Truth therefore ſhall*

enter

enter and Vanity depart, which has done so much miſchief in our Nation; for now a Man *ſhall Rule, who ſeeks after* Truth, *and not* Vanity *or* Flattery. *Thirdly, It is ſaid,* I thought as a Child, *for a Child* thinks and ſtudies *only how to have his humour, and do things according to his* own will, *and not according to Reaſon: Therefore when a Child Reigns, there only* Self-will *Reigns, and* Reaſon *is baniſht, and* Conſtancy *is put to flight, and great danger enſues; from which danger we are delivered; for a* Man ſhall rule over us, *to wit, One that ſpeaks not like a Child, but thus, as one that has the perfection of Reaſon*---I come not to do my own will, but the will of him that ſent me; *to wit, of God: And then for ſo of ſuch a man we will ſay not only that he will abide in wiſdom, but alſo that as a Man, not a Child, he will meditate on the Circumſpection of God; that is, he will every way diligently obſerve that* Gods will *not his own be done, and ſo in the ſtead of a Child wantoning in foolliſh ſtubborn humors, a Man ſhall Reign, and ſuch a Man, that it ſhall be ſaid of him,*---A King ſhall Reign in wiſdom, and he ſhall execute Judgment and do Juſtice in the Earth.

Which Harrangue being ended the ſaid Lord King Henry to appeaſe the minds of his Subjects, did then and there utter theſe words.

Sirs, I thank God and zowe Spiritual and Temporel, and all the Aſtates of the Lond, and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no man thynke that be way of Conqueſt I wold diſherit any man of his Heritage, Franches, or other Ryghts that hym aght to have, no put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude Laws and Cuſtoms of the Rewme: Except thoſe perſons that has ben agan the gude purpoſe and the commune proſit of the Rewme.

And forthwith conſidering, that by the former *vacancy* of the Royal Throne, by the *Ceſſion* and *Depoſition* aforeſaid, all power of Juſtices, Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout the Kingdom was ceaſed, therefore to the end, that there might be no failure nor delay in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, to the grievance of the People, he cauſed principal Officers and Juſtices to be made and ſworn to him with the uſual Oaths. And it was immediately proclaimed by the Kings Command, that on *Monday* next, after the ſaid Feaſt of S. *Michael*, a Parliament ſhould be held, and celebrated. And that

that on the *Monday* following that, that is to ſay on the Feaſt of S. *Edward*, ſhould be the Coronation of the ſaid King at *Weſtminſter*, and that all thoſe that could claim any ſervice in the ſaid Coronation, ſhould come to the *White-hall*, of the Palace before the Steward, Conſtable, and Marſhall of *England*, on *Saturday* next, before the day of the ſaid Parliament, to make their juſt demands in that behalf, and receive right therein. But as for the ſhortning the day aſſigned to the Parliament, there was a *Proteſtation* made by the *King*, That it was not his intent that thereby any prejudice ſhould be brought upon the States of his Kingdom; nor that the ſame for the future ſhould be drawn into *Example*: but that ſuch Abbreviation of Time was only made for the benefit and profit of the Kingdom, and eſpecially to ſave the Labour and Expences of ſeveral of his people, and that the Grievances of the people might be the ſooner remedied.

After which the *King* ariſing from his Royal Throne, and beholding the people with a cheerful and benign Countenance, retired himſelf from thence, all the people rejoycing. And the ſame day in the *White-hall* aforeſaid, made a ſolemn Feaſt to the Nobles and Gentry there in a vaſt multitude aſſembled.

And afterwards, *viz.* On *Wedneſday* next following, the before named *Procurators* ſo deputed as aforeſaid, did according as they were commanded, repair into the Preſence of the ſaid late King *Richard* being within the *Tower* aforeſaid, and the ſaid Sir *William Thirnyng* the Juſtice, for himſelf and his Companions and Fellow-Procura-

tors, in the Name of all the States and People aforesaid, did notifie and fully declare unto the said *Richard*, their admission of his said *Renunciation*, and the Manner, Cause and Form of such sentence of *Deposition*, and presently did resign and give back to the said late *King Richard* the *Homage* and *Fealty* formerly to him made as aforesaid: With these words.

The Words *which* William Thirnyng *spake to* Monsire Richard *late King of* England *at the* Tower *of* London *in his Chamber, on* Wednesday *next after the Feast of* S. Michael *the Archangel, were as follow:*

Sire, It is wele knowe to zowe, that ther was a Parlement somon'd of all the States of the Reaume for to be at Westmystre, and to begin on the Tuesday in the Morn of the Fest of S. Michael the Archangel, that was zesterday; by cause of the which Summons all the States of this Lond were there gadyr'd, the which States hole made thes same persones that ben comen here to zowe now, her Procuratozs, and gaven hem full Autozite and Power, and

and charged hem for to say the wordes that we shall say to zow in her Name, and on their behalve; that is to wytten, the Bishop of Saint Assa for Ersbishoppes and Bishoppes, the Abbot of Glastenbury for Abbots and Priours, and all other men of holy Chirche, Seculers and Rewelers, the Cearle of Glouceſtre, for Dukes and Erls, the Lord of Berkley, for Barons and Banerettes, Sir Thomas Irpyngham Chamberleyn for all the Bachilers and Commons of this Lond be South; Sir Thomas Grey for all the Bachilers and Commons by North, and my felawe Johan Markham, and me for to come with hem for all thes States. And so, Syre, these wordes and the doing that we shall say to zowe, is not onlych our wordes, but the wordes and the doyngs of all the States of this Lond, and our Charge and in her Name.

And he answered and said, That he wyste wele that we wold noght say but as we were charged.

Sire, ze remembre zowe wele that on Moneday in the Fest of Seint Michel the Archaungel right here in this Chamber, and in what presence ze renounced and Cessed of the State of Kynge and of Lordship, and of all the Dignite and Worship

Wyrship that longed thereto, and assoi-led all zour Leiges of her Ligeance and Obeisance that longed to zowe uppe the fourme that is contened in the same Renunciation and Cession, whiche ze redde zour self by zour mouth, and affermed it by zour Othe, and by zour own writing. Upon whiche ze made & Ordeined zour Procurators the Ersbishop of York and the Bishop of Hereford, for to notifie and declare in zour Name thes Renunciation and Cession at Westmynstre to all the States, and all the People that was there gadyr'd, betause of the summons aforesaid, the which thus don yesterday by thes Lords zour Procurators, & wele herde and understouden thes Renunciation and Cession ware plenelich and frelich accepted, and fullish agreed by all the States and People foresaid. And over this, Sire, at the instance of all thes States & People, ther ware certain Articles of Defautes in zour Governance redde there and tho wele herd & pleinelich understouden to all the States foresaid, hem thoght hem so trewe, and so notorie and knowen, That by tho Causes, and by no other, as thei sayd, and having Consideration to zour own wordes in zour own Renunciation and

Cession

Cession, that ze were not worthy, no sufficient ne able for to Governe, for your owne demerites, as it is more pleinerlich contened therein; hem thoght that was resonable and cause for to depose zowe, and her Commissaries that they made and ordein'd, as it is of Record that declared and decreed and adjudged zowe for to be deposed and pryved, and indede deposed zowe and pryved zowe of the Astate of King, and of the Lordship conteined in the Renunciation and Cession forsayd, and of all the dignite and wyrshipp, and of all the Administration that longed thereto. And we procuratorz to all thes States and People forsayd os we be charged by hem, and by her Auctorite gyffen us, and in her name zelde zow uppe for all the States and People, forsayd Homage Leige, and Feaute, and all Leigeance, and all other Bondes, Charges, and Services that long therto, and that non of all thes States and People fro thys tyme forwarde ne bere zowe Feyth, ne de zowe Obeisance os to that King.

And he answered and seyd, that he loked not ther after, but he sayde, that after all this he hoped that is Cosyn wolde be goode Lord to hym. Thus

Thus far the Record, word for word Translated out of the *Latine* and *French*, and the *English* recited in the Old Words, and obsolete spelling as it stands in the Rolls remaining in the Tower, the same being attested to have been Examined and found to agree therewith.

Thus tracing the series of *story*, we have attended this unhappy Prince through all the *Stages* of Grandeur, and seen how by over-straining at too absolute a power, he fatally came to be deprived of his before unquestioned Dominion, so that on a sudden he was abandoned, despised, and reduced to the Condition of a private man, a State so much worse than that of Death, as it suffered him to survive his Honour, and remain only a Monument of his own Ignominy, and the Triumphs of his Successor.

Yet this *Affliction* lasted not very long, for there are seldom many steps between the *Prisons* and the *Crowns* of Princes. Though in truth his Fate seems to have been *accelerated* by the vain attempts of pretended Friends to restore him, rather than by any *predestigement* of those that had dispossessed him. For at first after his Deposition, he was carried to *Leeds Castle* in *Kent*, and there kept under a competent Guard as a Prisoner, but not in any very close Confinement, nor yet without Princely *Maintenance* in some proportion to his *quondam* Quality.

On *Monday*, the 29*th* of *September*, 1399. was the said King *Richard*'s Resignation; on the next day he was Deposed by the Parliament, and *Henry* made the said claim to the Crown, and actually began

began his *Reign* as King. On the 6*th* of *October* a Parliament meets, that was Summoned by him in his own Name, and on *Monday* the 13*th* of the same *October*, he was Crowned, being the *same* day of the Month on which in the very last year he received Sentence of Banishment.

The better to establish his new assumed Throne, he began with Acts of *Clemency*, as hoping to purchase *new Friends*, or at least extinguish *old Enmities*; the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Morley* (all *Privados* to the late King *Richard*) he *freely pardon'd*; yet could not this *unexpected favour* (at which the common people not a little murmur'd, as being they thought *undeserv'd*) restrain these very Noblemen from hazarding their own Lives, and *His* too, for whose sake they pretended to venture them, in attempting *fresh Disturbances*. For before King *Henry* had reigned two years, they, with several others, enter'd into a *Confederacy* (first hatcht, 'tis said, by the Abbot of *Westminster*) to destroy him, by surprising him at a *Tournament*, or *Martial Exercise*, that they appointed to be held at *Oxford*, and to which they had solemnly *invited* him, and then to re-establish *Richard*. A *Plot*, which whether it were more *justly* or *imprudently* design'd, more *wonderfully* discovered at first, or more strangely quash'd at last, or prov'd more *fatal* to the undertakers, or to the said late deposed King *Richard*, we must refer to the Reader's censure: For in short so it was, That the Duke of *Aumerle* riding towards *Oxford* to joyn the rest of his Associates at their pretended *Justs*, calling by the way on his Father the Duke of

York,

York, and having in his bosom an *Indenture*, containing the *Heads of the Conspiracy* mutually Sign'd and Seal'd by the principal Agents therein; the old Duke happening to spy it as they sat at Dinner, ask'd what it was? And the Son in some disorder answering, that it *no way concerned him*; the Father *swore by St. George* that he would see it, and pluck'd it from him; by which perceiving their *Plot*, he upbraided his Son, and told him, he would presently acquaint King *Henry*. But *Aumerle* got out of the House, and rode with such *speed*, that he got to *Windsor* (where the *Court* then was) before his Father, and begging the King's *Pardon*, first of all discover'd the whole Intrigue himself.

The King provides for his own safety, retires to *London*, and the Conspirators perceiving the business had taken Air, prompted on by despair, betook themselves to *Arms*; and having with them one *Maudlin* a Priest, that very much resembled King *Richard*, they attired him in *Royal Robes*, and gave out, that he was King *Richard*, escaped out of Prison. By which Fiction they drew together a considerable Army, and such as might have shockt King *Henry*'s scarce-well-setled Crown, had not Fortune (always his Friend) scattered them in a moment by the most unexpected accident in the World. For their Troops being encamped near *Cicester*, and the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, taking their Quarters within the Town at one end, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Gloucester*, in another: The Bayliff of the Town (I am sorry his Name is not recorded, for a stout brave fellow no doubt he was, that durst attack such migthy Peers,

Peers, that had ſo numerous an Army within a Mile or two of the Town) underſtanding that they were in Rebellion againſt the King, gathering a Company of Townſmen in the night, aſſaulted the Inn where *Surrey* and *Salisbury* lay, who after a long defence, being in danger of being taken, a Prieſt of their Party ſet divers Houſes in the Town on Fire, hoping thereby to divert the Aſſailants from proſecuting the Lords, to ſave their Houſes. But this enflam'd them the more, & ſo hotly they purſued the Skirmiſh, that they ſlew the ſaid two Noblemen, and cut off their Heads. In the mean time from the other Inn, *Exeter* fled to his Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to reſcue his Friends: But the Soldiers having heard a Clamour, and ſeeing the Town on Fire, imagined King *Henry* had been come with all his Forces, and ſo in a pannick fear fled and diſperſed themſelves; and the ſaid Duke of *Exeter* having skulk'd up and down for ſome time, was taken and Beheaded at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*; The very place where by his Council and Contrivance the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been apprehended, and ſent away to *Calice* to be murdered.

Though King *Richard* being all this while a *Priſoner*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have much hand in this *Inſurrection*, yet being undertaken for his ſake, it might poſſibly haſten his End. He was now remov'd from *Leeds* to *Pomfract Caſtle*, and as we know not the *certain time* of his Death, ſo likewiſe is the *manner* of it variouſly reported. Some write; That he was every day ſerv'd in with abundance of coſtly Diſhes, but *not ſuffered* to touch or taſt one of them, and ſo periſhed with *Famine*; but ſuch barbarous unnatural Cruelty ſeems wholly *fabulous*.

bulous. Others relate, That King *Henry* having at Table been overheard to ſay with a ſigh---- *Have I never a Friend that will rid me of him whoſe Life will breed deſtruction to me, and diſquiet to the Realm?* One Sir *Pierce Exton* taking this for a Warrant, goes down to *Pontefract*, and firſt commanded his *Taſter*, not to take the *Eſſay* of his Meat as formerly; at which *Richard* being offended, and being told it was by K. *Henry*'s Order, ſaid to his Squire, *The Devil take* Henry *of* Lancaſter *& thee together*; upon which Sir *Pierce* entered the Chamber with eight Armed Men, which King *Richard* perceiving, wrung the *Bill* out of the hands of the formoſt, and ſlew four of them, but was at laſt himſelf knock'd down by Sir *Pierce* with a *Pole-Axe*: Which Relation likewiſe ſeems a little Romantick. *Walſingham* tells us, that after the Defeat of his Friends, the Duke of *Exeter*, *&c.* finding all hopes of his *Reſtoration* deſtroyed, he fell into ſuch a *ſullen Melancholy* that he would taſt no Food, and ſo *voluntarily ſtarved* himſelf.

But which way ſoever he came by his End, King *Henry* it ſeems was willing to let all the World *know he was dead*, for his Body, Embalm'd and covered with Lead, all ſave the *Face*, was brought to *London*, where for three days together it was expoſed at *Paul*'s to *publick view*, and then buried in the Church of *Predicant Friars* at *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*; But afterwards by King *Henry* the Fifth removed to *Weſtminſter*, and there honourably Entombed. Yet ſome *Scottiſh Hiſtorians* affirm; That he eſcaped out of Priſon, and led a ſolitary and virtuous life in that Kingdom for divers years, and lies buried (as they ſay) in the *Black Friers* at *Sterling*. So different is the Report of Fame touching this *unhappy* Prince's *exit* out of the World, who lived therein about 33 years, and *Reigned* 22 years and 3 months.

FINIS.